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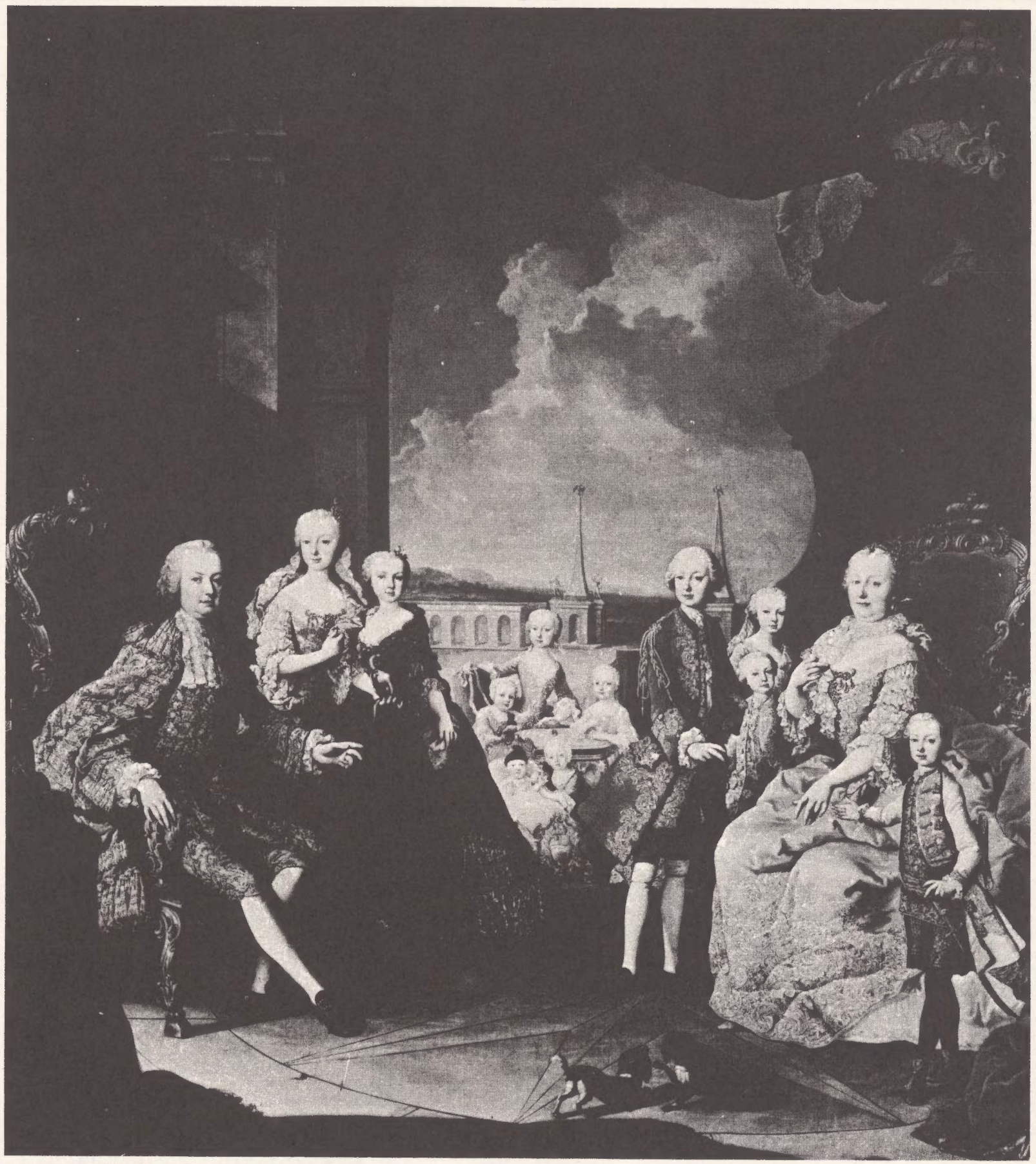
The Complete Symphonies of Haydn
Volume Six

HAYDN SYMPHONIES NOS. 36-48

ANTAL DORATI · PHILHARMONIA HUNGARICA



Joseph Haydn. Anonymous miniature portrait,
Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. It shows Haydn at about the age of fifty (c.1782)

Booklet Cover: Painting by Martin Meytens of the EMPRESS MARIA THERESA AND HER FAMILY on the terrace of the castle at Schönbrunn, c. 1755. Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna.

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Haydn: The Symphonies (36-48)
The Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by Antal Dorati

SIDE ONE
SYMPHONY No. 36 in E flat major
1. Vivace (5:10)
2. Adagio (4:15)
3. Menuetto e trio (4:17)
4. Allegro (Presto) (4:10)

SIDE TWO
SYMPHONY No. 37 in C major
1. Presto (3:15)
2. Menuet e trio (3:27)
3. Andante (4:25)
4. Presto (2:24)

SYMPHONY No. 38 in C major "Echo"
5. Allegro di molto (3:48)
6. Andante molto (3:25)
7. Menuet e trio allegro (3:05)
8. FINALE; Allegro di molto (3:23)

SIDE THREE
SYMPHONY No. 39 in G minor
1. Allegro assai (4:40)
2. Andante (3:50)
3. Menuet e trio (3:00)
4. FINALE (3:48)

SIDE FOUR
SYMPHONY No. 40 in F major
1. Allegro (4:48)
2. Andante più tosto allegretto (4:35)
3. Menuet e trio (4:43)
4. FINALE; Fuga (2:52)

SIDE FIVE
SYMPHONY No. 41 in C major
1. Allegro con spirito (5:45)
2. Un poco andante (5:55)
3. Menuet e trio (3:40)
4. FINALE; Presto (2:40)

SIDE SIX
SYMPHONY No. 42 in D major
1. Moderato e maestoso (9:30)
2. Andantino e cantabile (9:50)
3. Menuet e trio - Allegretto (4:50)
4. FINALE; Scherzando e presto (3:47)

SIDE SEVEN
SYMPHONY No. 43 in E flat major "Merkur"
1. Allegro (6:50)
2. Adagio (8:40)
3. Menuetto e trio (4:05)
4. FINALE; Allegro (4:47)

SIDE EIGHT
SYMPHONY No. 44 in E minor "Trauer"
1. Allegro con brio (6:48)
2. Menuetto e trio - Allegretto canone in diapason (6:13)
3. Adagio (6:10)
4. FINALE; Presto (3:55)

SIDE NINE
SYMPHONY No. 45 in F sharp minor "Abschied"
1. Allegro assai (4:40)
2. Adagio (7:57)
3. Menuet e trio - Allegretto (4:30)
4. FINALE; Presto e adagio (8:45)

SIDE TEN
SYMPHONY No. 46 in B major
1. Vivace (6:05)
2. Poco Adagio (4:30)
3. Menuet e trio - Allegretto (3:40)
4. FINALE; Presto e scherzando (4:20)

SIDE ELEVEN
SYMPHONY No. 47 in G major
1. Allegro (5:43)
2. Un poco adagio, cantabile (7:45)
3. Menuet e trio al rovescio (2:38)
4. FINALE; Presto assai (4:43)

SIDE TWELVE
SYMPHONY No. 48 in C major "Maria Theresia"
1. Allegro (8:10)
2. Adagio (9:30)
3. Menuet e trio (5:30)
4. FINALE; Allegro (3:20)

Antal Dorati.

Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers were Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was the youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive a degree.

Soon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he went to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 and 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in many major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939–40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Wiener Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970. In October 1970, Antal Dorati was appointed chief conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, Washington D.C., in addition to his commitments with the Stockholm orchestra.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Among the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian history of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summed up in these poignant words: ". . . One must get away from here, no matter where to . . ."

From among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exception, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Committee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

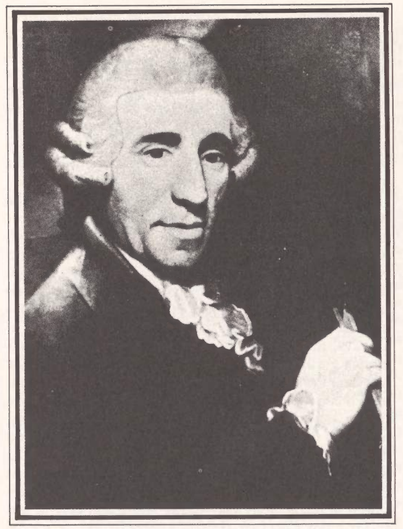
As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

Notes on Symphonies 36-48 by H. C. Robbins Landon

It is now well known that the 107 symphonies of Haydn are not in strict chronological order. The great Austrian scholar, Eusebius von Mandyczewski, assembled his list of 104 symphonies in 1907, in connection with the opening volumes (Symphonies Nos. 1-40) of the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe*, planned to coincide with the centenary celebrations for Haydn's death in 1909. Mandyczewski left out three works, a lost Symphony in D (known to us from Haydn's thematic *Entwurf-Katalog*, about which more will be said *infra*) and two other works which he believed were, respectively, a string Quartet (Opus 1, No. 5) and a *Divertimento* or *Partita* in B flat– both works which modern scholarship has rightly restored to Haydn's symphonic *oeuvre*. As for the chronological order, Mandyczewski used such autographs as were then available (almost all Haydn's autographs are dated), and with other information – mainly the famous Breitkopf Catalogues – he put together a list, the chronological principle of which, as he stated in his foreword, was not to date a work too early. Since 1907, much new information has come to light, even to the rediscovery of dated Haydn autographs. One such manuscript is Symphony No. 40, which Mandyczewski had placed *c.* 1770 on the basis of a manuscript dated 1770 in Göttweig Abbey on the Danube. Subsequently the dated autograph turned up and showed that the work had been written in 1763, which meant that it ought to have been inserted in Mandyczewski's list together with Nos. 12 and 13.

The principal sources for dating Haydn's earlier symphonies are: (1) the autographs, such as have survived; (2) dated contemporary copies and entries in catalogues, such as the Breitkopf Catalogues, which were issued almost every year from 1762 to 1787 and which offered for sale MS. and printed copies of the latest music of all *genres;* (3) the period of entry in Haydn's so-called *Entwurf-Katalog*, a running draft catalogue with incipits which the composer began about 1765 and kept till the end of the century or even to about 1805; the entries are sometimes sporadic and often in blocks. But by using dated autographs and other evidence, we can date fairly precisely the various blocks in the *Entwurf-Katalog*. Unfortunately the first pages are missing, and they contained all the early symphonies, entered into the catalogue by Haydn's copyist, Joseph Elssler (whose son Johann was also to be Haydn's principal music copyist). We know this because the page with which *EK* now begins contains the last entry of this large symphonic group (as it happens, the sixth and final work of a group of six miniature symphonies which are entitled *Scherzandi* on most contemporary manuscripts). The situation with regard to the symphonies included in this album is a chronological spectrum ranging from 1757 to 1772. The following table will, therefore, place the symphonies in chronological rather than numerical order.

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
c. 1757	37	A dated set of manuscript parts in the Archives of the Princes Schwarzenberg, Castle Böhmisch Krumau (Český Krumlov). On the upper right-hand corner of the title page is the date "1758". This is the earliest known copy of any Haydn symphony, and it precedes by one year the supposed date of the First Symphony: 1759. What probably happened is that Haydn, an old man when he told his biographer G. A. Griesinger the information, remembered writing his First Symphony for Count Morzin in Lukavec: he quite accurately remembered the *incipit*, and No. 1 (as we now call it) is definitely a very early work. But it may be that Haydn mixed up the date, because he once thought that he began writing symphonies as early as 1757, a date which would accord with the evidence of the Schwarzenberg copy of No. 37 – it generally took at least a year for copies of Haydn's newest symphonies to circulate to the Austro-Hungarian provinces.
c. 1761–5	36	The earliest dated source for this work is its entry in the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1769, but internal stylistic evidence – which we shall examine *infra* – suggests that it was composed earlier, probably between 1761 and 1765.
1763	40	Dated autograph, formerly owned by the poet E. H. W. Meyerstein and left by him to the British Museum.
c. 1766–8	38	Earliest dated sources are (1) Breitkopf Catalogue 1769; (2) Göttweig Catalogue 1769. In the *Entwurf-Katalog*, Haydn entered it together with Nos. 49 (autograph: 1768) and 57.
c. 1768	39	Earliest dated source is a set of parts in Göttweig Abbey dated 1770. In the *Entwurf-Katalog* Haydn entered it in pencil together with No. 20 (Breitkopf Catalogue: 1766), on page two at the top, to the left of a group of works composed in or about 1768 (*Lo speziale* Overture: 1768 and Symphonies Nos. 26 and 41).
c. 1768–9	48	Authentic MS. parts in the Castle of the Counts Zay von Csomor, Zay-Ugrócz (now Uhrovec, Slovakia), copied by Joseph Elssler and with the pencilled date 1769 and "Inter Difficillima N II" on the title page. Previously this work was thought to have been played (and composed) in honour of the Empress Maria Theresa's visit to Eszterháza Castle in the Autumn of 1773. It is otherwise first known to us in the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1773. The watermarks of the Joseph Elssler copy are similar to those in a Michael Haydn Church Aria in the Esterházy Archives at Eisenstadt dated 1771. The work was entered in the *Entwurf-Katalog* in the midst of symphonies composed in or about 1772.
c. 1769	41	Earliest dated references: (1) MS. parts entitled "Parthia . . . Comparavit R: P: Odo 1771" in Göttweig Abbey; (2) Printed parts by Sieber in Paris, including this work, a spurious work (actually a B flat Symphony by Michael Haydn, the first three movements of which were composed, as the autograph informs us, on 27 September 1766; the last movement is the Finale of Joseph Haydn's Symphony No. 59, transposed from A to B flat and rewritten in two-four rather than barred C time) and No. 49 (1768). The Sieber print was announced in the *Affiches, Annonces & Avis divers* on 12 December 1771. There is an authentic set of MS. parts by Joseph Elssler, formerly in the Archives of the Counts Chotek von Chotkowa und Wognin in Kačina Castle and now in the National Library at Prague. The watermarks of the manuscript, which is (like Elssler's copy of No. 38 – *vide infra* – and No. 48 – *vide supra* –) written on paper from the princely Esterházy paper at Lockenhaus, suggests that it was copied in 1769.
1771	42	The dated autograph manuscript is in the Esterházy Archives, Budapest (now the National Library). It was announced in the Breitkopf Catalogue for 1773.
c. 1771	43	Earliest source: Breitkopf Catalogue 1772.
c. 1771	44	Earliest source: Breitkopf Catalogue 1772. In the *Entwurf- Katalog*, Nos. 43 and 44 are entered as part of a large block of symphonies from or about the year 1772.
1772	45	The dated autograph manuscript is in the Esterházy Archives, Budapest. Otherwise the earliest dated source is "Comparavit R P/ Marianus 1774" in Göttweig Abbey.
1772	46	The dated autograph manuscript is in the Esterházy Archives, Budapest. Otherwise the earliest dated source is the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1773. Haydn's symphonies were now circulating rapidly; they reached Leipzig and even Paris as little as a year after their composition.
1772	47	The dated autograph manuscript is in the Esterházy Archives, Budapest. Otherwise the earliest dated sources are: (1) Göttweig Abbey, where Pater Marianus acquired the work in 1774; (2) Breitkopf Catalogue of 1774; (3) The first edition by Sieber in Paris, *Trois Symphonies* including Nos. 43, 52 and 47, announced on 7 February 1774 in the *Affiches, Annonces & Avis divers*. As for the internal chronology of Nos. 45-47, we have only the evidence of *Entwurf-Katalog*, where the works are entered as follows: Nos. 45, 46 (this looks like one entry), and then Nos. 65, 48, 46 once again (later cancelled) – these three might be another block entry. There then follow Nos. 47, 44, 51, 43. At the bottom, in quite another ink, is No. 41.



Portrait of Haydn by Thomas Hardy in 1792, commissioned by music publisher John Bland.

In May 1761 Haydn was engaged as Vice *Capellmeister* to Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, who lived at Eisenstadt Castle most of the year, going to Vienna for Christmas and sometimes taking his musicians with him. The nominal *Capellmeister* was the old and crotchety Gregor Werner, who continued to run the church music; Haydn was in charge of the orchestra. At the time of Haydn's engagement, the band was considerably enlarged. Most of the players were proficient on more than one instrument: of the two new horn players engaged in 1763, both could play string bass instruments as well. In these early years, the regular instrumental group consisted of one flute, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, three violins, one violoncello and Haydn (who sometimes joined the violins and sometimes conducted from the harpsichord). The princely church music group also included a small nucleus of string players – a couple of violins, a cello and a double bass. The timpani player, Adam Sturm, was pensioned but could obviously be had for an occasional symphony with kettledrums. Later, the trumpet and timpani players were always recruited whenever necessary and were not regular members of Haydn's *instrumentarium*.

Gradually – especially when the new Castle at Eszterháza was opened – new string players had to be engaged permanently. Eszterháza was very lonely and there was no church group from which to borrow players; the nearest place was Oedenburg (now Sopron), and Haydn actually did borrow musicians from there when a great festival took place. By 1780, there were ten violinists (not including Haydn), two viola players, two cellists and two double bass players, apart from the usual woodwind and brass players.

In the early part of the 1760s, the band was regularly situated at Eisenstadt Castle, but they occasionally went to Kittsee Castle, a pretty residence across the Danube from Pressburg (now Bratislava, CSSR). A document of the year 1765, from the Esterházy Archives, tells us something of the circumstances under which most of Haydn's symphonies in the period 1761–1766 were first given. We read that Haydn is "to hold in our [Prince Esterházy's] absence two musical concerts every week in the Officers' room at Eisenstadt, *viz.* on Tuesdays and Saturdays from two to four o'clock in the afternoon. All the musicians are to appear . . .".

At Eszterháza, everything gradually came to centre round the opera house and, at the beginning, the elegant marionette theatre. Prince Paul Anton had died in 1762, to be succeeded by Prince Nicolaus (known as "The Magnificent"), under whom Haydn served till the Prince's death in 1790. Prince Nicolaus, a benevolent despot, was himself a good musician and encouraged Haydn in his far-reaching and occasionally extravagant experiments in the symphonic form. But Nicolaus's grand passion, apart from his fabulous diamond-studded uniforms, was opera; in 1768, the opera house was opened at Eszterháza and when it burned down in the disastrous fire of November 1779, Prince Nicolaus immediately set to work on a new and even larger one, which was opened on 25 February 1781 with the première of Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata*. From 1776 on, there was a regular operatic season at Eszterháza; previously, the operas produced had been exclusively by Haydn himself, but after 1776, he found himself becoming more and more an operatic *Capellmeister*. Prince Nicolaus preferred Italian *opera buffa*, and soon the theatre echoed to strains of Paisiello, Guglielmi, Gazzaniga, Cimarosa and Anfossi. Many new singers were engaged, including the pretty, dark-haired

Italian soprano, Luigia Polzelli, whose husband was engaged as a violinist. Haydn fell madly in love with "la Polzelli" and the two carried on an open love affair in front of their respective spouses. Naturally, with all this operatic activity, Haydn had less and less time to compose and after the enormously vital years of symphonic composition between 1761 and 1775, the symphony soon had to occupy a very minor role in Haydn's busy life. Actually he was very interested in opera as a form, and composed a great many very interesting stage works for Eszterháza.

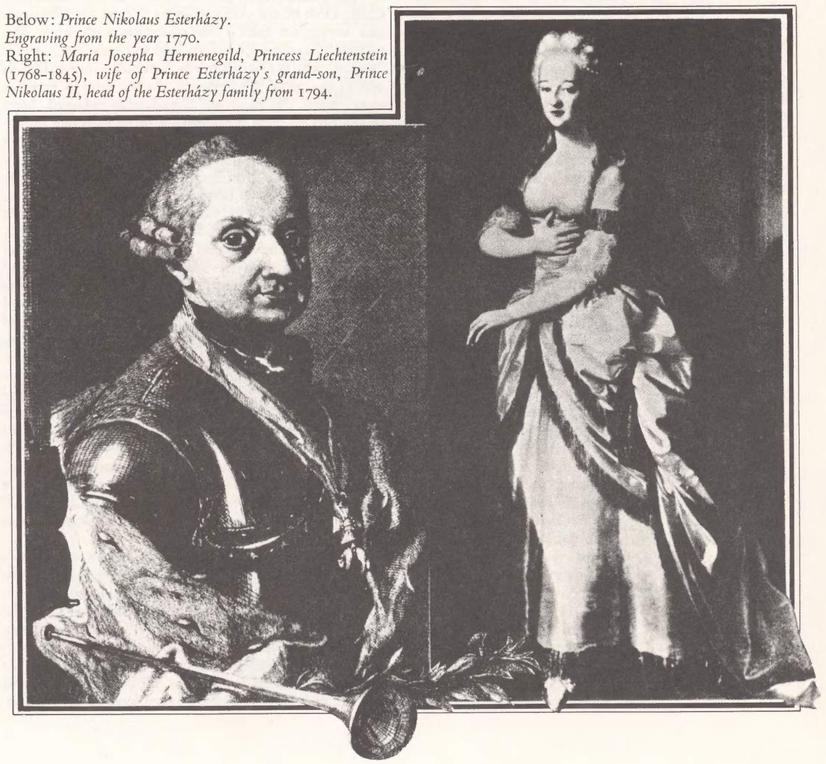
Apart from the opera house, Haydn also conducted the musicians for the marionette operas in the puppet theatre; he also composed several works for that theatre, which was soon famous throughout Europe. Here, all the operas were done in the German language, and a chorus, from the local population, could be recruited. Haydn soon became so interested in puppet operas that he formed his own private marionette theatre to entertain people in Carnival time. Once, the Prince actually hired Haydn's puppet group to perform at a surprise birthday party for his "dear Princess". Apart from Italian opera and German marionette operas, Esterházy was fascinated with the spoken theatre and engaged whole troupes of strolling players to take up residence at the Castle for months at a time. The most famous of these strolling players was the Karl Wahr Troupe, who spent many happy summers at Eszterháza. Prince Nicolaus commissioned German translations of Shakespeare plays from Wahr, and Haydn was able to enjoy *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, etc., in special translations printed – like the operas and marionette pieces – at the Prince's expense in Oedenburg or Vienna. Haydn provided all the incidental music for the plays, and the Gotha *Theater-Kalender* lists "Capellmeister: Joseph Hayden" [*sic*] under the Wahr Troupe, "resident at His Highness, Prince Esterházy". Some of this incidental music, such as that to *Hamlet*, announced in the *Pressburger Zeitung* in 1774 has, alas, not survived. Some of the arrangements of other peoples' music which Haydn undertook, still exist: *e.g.* the music to *King Lear*, which Haydn reorchestrated and "dappered up" from an extant score by one Wilhelm Stegmann. And finally, some of this incidental music was turned into symphonies and has thus survived: we know that Nos. 60 and 63 were written as incidental music to plays given by Karl Wahr at Eszterháza, and we suspect the same of Nos. 59 and 65. As it happens, we have the total season's repertoire intact for Eszterháza Castle during the year 1778. It shows that concerts were given either for everyone, in the *sala terrena* (a lovely room, recently restored by the Hungarian authorities), or "nell' appartamento" of Prince Nicolaus – chamber music, in which the Prince often participated.

On 10 March a group of strolling players, the Pauli Company, arrived and took up residence. From that date until three days before Christmas, there was a German play, an Italian opera, or a German marionette opera every night except at Easter and when the Prince was not in residence. They put on *Romeo and Juliet*, Goethe's *Stella*, a number of Italian operas including Dittersdorf's *Arcifanfano* and marionette operas including Haydn's *Dido*.

On 28 October the Pauli Company gave their last performance and departed, to be succeeded in two days by the Diwald Troupe who, of course, brought with them a new repertoire, including Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* and Shakespeare's *Richard III*. In the year 1786, to choose a final example, Haydn conducted 125 operatic performances at Eszterháza, including a total of seventeen operas, eight of them premières; in 1788, he conducted 108 performances of seventeen (mostly different) operas, seven of them premières. Of all the great composers, none – not Verdi, not Puccini, not Gluck or Mozart – had an operatic routine of Haydn's scope.

Haydn's symphonies were now being rapidly disseminated throughout the Austrian Empire and in South Germany. As we approach the great symphonic period of the early 1770s, we can see Haydn's popularity increasing almost symphony for symphony. The monks in those remote but highly cultivated Benedictine, Augustinian and Cistercian monasteries immediately understood and appreciated these new and extremely modern works: even those in remote minor keys such as No. 45 (F sharp minor), which was enormously popular long before anyone knew the story attached to it. We find No. 45 in the Benedictine Monasteries of Lambach in Upper Austria (where the Mozart family used to spend the night), Kremsmünster (where the Mozarts much admired the elaborate Baroque fish-pond), Melk on the Danube (Lower Austria: here the great Albrechtsberger was organist in the late 1750s and early 1760s), and of course Göttweig, where Haydn's muse had been cultivated assiduously by the monks since 1762. No. 44 was equally popular: Melk, Göttweig and Kremsmünster owned it, but also the elegant Cistercian Monastery of Schlierbach in Upper Austria; the remote Praemonstratensian Monastery of Schlägl in Upper Austria near what is now the Czech border; the "peasant Baroque" (as it is called in Art-History terminology) Benedictine Monastery of Michaelbeuern near Salzburg; the beautiful

Below: *Prince Nikolaus Esterházy.*
Engraving from the year 1770.
Right: *Maria Josepha Hermenegild, Princess Liechtenstein* (1768-1845), *wife of Prince Esterházy's grand-son, Prince Nikolaus II, head of the Esterházy family from* 1794.



Romanesque Cistercian Monastery of Zwettl in Lower Austria, for which institution Haydn had composed his *Applausus* Cantata a few years earlier, in 1768 – all these ancient and venerable Abbeys appreciated one of the severest and most uncompromising of all Haydn's symphonies in a minor key.

Beyond the Austrian borders, the new symphonies travelled first to the Bavarian Monasteries and princely houses. The Prince of Oettingen-Wallerstein, Krafft Ernst, had his Viennese agent order all Haydn's latest symphonies: he ordered for Wallerstein Castle (the works are now housed in the huge archives of the Gothic Castle at Harburg) Nos. 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47 and no less than two copies of No. 48. In nearby Regensburg, the seat of the Princes of Thurn und Taxis, we find old MS. copies of Nos. 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44 (the principal source and probably the earliest – certainly textually the most reliable), 45, 46, and the earliest and best copy of No. 48 apart from the Joseph Elssler MS. mentioned earlier in these notes.

Northern Italy – especially where the Austrians governed (such as in Milan) – also collected these Haydn symphonies, and usually in batches of six. In Venice, the great Gustiniani family owned a large collection of Haydn's symphonies, Volume V of which contained (to choose one example) Nos. 57, 54, 56, 55, 46 and 45 – all works composed between 1772 and 1774 and obviously copied in Venice shortly after that.

It was still cheaper for most non-Frenchmen to purchase Haydn's latest symphonies in good Viennese (or Venetian or Leipzig) copies, which were accurately copied by professional writers and sold at a cheap price.

Johann Michael Haydn (1737-1806).
Joseph Haydn's younger brother. Lithograph by Franz Eybl.

Of course, Haydn never saw a penny from these transactions, nor did he earn anything, or know of the existence of, many of the French prints of his works which began to appear with great rapidity in the 1760s. The French publishers probably had their agents in Vienna who sent them the latest Haydn works in MS. copies; the Parisian public was soon so avid for Haydn that the publishers unscrupulously marketed as Haydn many products of lesser Austrian (and even German) composers who wrote in the Haydn manner: Leopold Hofmann, Carlos d'Ordoñez, J. B. Vanhal and, of course, Johann Michael Haydn, who was at this period composing many interesting and original symphonies for the Archiepiscopal Court in Salzburg. (We have just seen how one of his Symphonies, composed in 1766, was printed under his brother's name in Paris as part of Sieber's *Trois Simphonies* that included No. 41 – *vide supra*). Not every new Haydn symphony reached Paris, however: Nos. 36, 37 and 40 were never printed in Paris (or anywhere else for that matter until their appearance in the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe*, whose third volume, issued in 1907, included these three works). But Paris printed all the others included in this volume, and usually they were the first editions, too. No. 38 was printed in 1779 by Mademoiselle de Silly in Paris as "Trois Simphonies à grande Orchestre dédiées a Madame d'Alleray. Composées par G. Haydn. Gravées par Melle de Silly. Prix 9l. À Paris. Chez Melle de Silly, Mde de Musique, Rue du Temple, près celle de Montmorency et aux adresses ordinaires". Two of the works were Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 20 and 38 (without the trumpets and timpani which Haydn may have added later, at least to No. 38), but the third is a D major Symphony by the Italian operatic composer Giuseppe Sarti. No. 39 was brought out in 1773 by Venier in Paris, together with Symphonies 58 and a butchered version of 22 (minus the first movement and with a new and probably spurious slow movement inserted between Haydn's second and fourth movements). The Minuets of Nos. 22 and 39 were omitted. Venier entitled his print "Ill Sinfonie a più stromenti composta dal Sigr. Giuseppe Hayden, Maestro di Concerto et Compositor di Musica di S. E. il Principe Esterhasy, Opera XV, nuovamente stampate a spese di G. B. Venier. Prix 7l 4s. Le parti d'obboe et corni da caccia sono ad libitum. À Paris chez Mr. Venier, Editeur de plusieurs ouvrages de musique, Rue St Thomas du Louvre vis-à-vis Le Chatea[u] d'Eau . . .". We have mentioned Sieber's print of No. 41, together with a Michael Haydn Symphony and a Joseph Haydn Finale, and Joseph's No. 49. Sieber omitted the trumpets and timpani in No. 41, and his print is entitled: "Trois Simphonies a deux violons, alto, et basse, cor, et hautbois, composées par G. Heyden, Prix 7l 4s. À Paris, chez Mr. Sieber de l'Académie Royale de Musique, Rue St Honoré à l'hôtel d'Aligre près la Croix de Trahoire . . .".

Sieber also issued the first edition of three Haydn Symphonies in February 1774: Nos. 43, 52 and 47, engraved by Madame Moria, and entitled "Trois Simphonies a deux violons, alto et basse, cor, et hautbois composés [*sic*] par J. Hayden, Prix 7l 4s" with a slightly different address (*cf.* the print of No. 41): "chez le St. Sieber, rue St Honoré à l'hôtel d'Aligre ancien Grand Conseil . . .". For No. 47, which we know was composed in 1772, it was very quick work to have brought out the first edition as early as February 1774; perhaps Haydn furnished the engraver's copy, for we know that he was in touch with Sieber at a later date.

Curiously, No. 42 was not printed in Paris until 1784, when Sieber and Imbault brought it out jointly. No. 44 also appeared rather late on the French scene. It formed part of an edition published by Guera in Lyon and was entitled "Trois Simphonies a grand orchestre composées par Messieurs Hayden et Vanhall, les cors de chasse ad libitum. Prix 7l 4s. À Lyon chés Guera Editeur et Md de Musique, Place des Terreaux, à Paris au Bureau du Journal de Musique, Rue Montmartre"; the edition was engraved by Mlle. Ferrieres, another of the numerous French ladies who were professional music engravers. It appeared about 1780 (because the British firm of Longman & Broderip announced the print as "just imported" in the *Morning Herald* on 30 January 1781). The Guera print included a Vanhal symphony and Haydn's Nos. 57 and 44.

In 1775, the Bureau d'Abonnement Musical in Paris brought out four Haydn Symphonies, two spurious ones (by Vanhal and another in E flat which exists variously as Pierre van Maldere or Franz Aspelmayr) and Nos. 45 and 46. Only one copy of this extremely rare print has survived; it is in the Universitetsbiblioteket of Lund who kindly supplied us with photostatic copies. It is entitled "Raccolta Del Harmonia Collezione Ottogesima Decina Del Magazino Musicale. Quattro Sinfonie concertanti A Grand Orchestra Per Violino primo, Violino secondo, Oboe primo, Oboe secondo, Corno primo, Corno secondo, Alto Viola e Basso. La Prima Sinfonia [by Vanhal, in C] Con Timpano e Due Clarini ad libitum. La Terza Sinfonia Con Quattro Violini [Haydn's No. 45] e li altri Stromenti. Composte Dal Signore Giuseppe HAIDEN Opera XXIV. Prezzo 9l. A PARIS Au Bureau d'Abonnement Musical Rue du hazard Richelieu [*etc.*]". Here, the French publisher was so confused by the Finale that he changed it radically, stopping the music in the *Adagio* at the C sharp cadence in bar 67 and instructing the players "D. C., al presto Finale senza replique", which means that the Symphony ends where the Presto ends, on a half-cadence in the dominant. No wonder that French audiences found this music bizarre in the extreme!

The popular Symphony No. 48, which was circulated all over Central Europe in manuscript copies, did not reach the Paris presses until 1784, when the *Affiches, Annonces & Avis divers* told of its publication on 1 April by Imbault and Sieber jointly. The dissemination of Haydn's music by the printed page was still haphazard and usually unauthentic (though it happens that the Imbault-Sieber edition of No. 48 is unusually reliable). It was not until Haydn himself began to sell his own works to the various publishers that some kind of order

enters into this chaotic situation, when publishers could and did issue genuine and spurious Haydn works from any text they could procure.

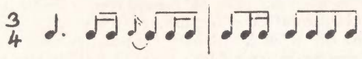
Symphony No. 36 in E flat. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to the bass line of which has been added a bassoon and a harpsichord *continuo*, as was Haydn's practice at this time. In the second movement (*Adagio*) the scoring is for "Violino principale", "Violoncello Solo", with string orchestra (and harpsichord *continuo*). In the absence of a dated source earlier than its announcement in the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1769, we must try to date this Symphony on internal evidence. The following reasons may be cited why the date *c.* 1761–5 seems more accurate:

(1) It is not found on pages one or two of the *Entwurf-Katalog*. Since all the symphonies of the period 1765–8 which can be checked against the autographs and other evidence are, except for No. 30 (1765), found on the first two pages of *EK*, one would be inclined to say that 1765 is the outward limit.

(2) The use of a solo violin and solo cello in a *concerto-grosso*-like structure points to a period earlier than 1765–8. This technique is used in the famous trilogy *Le Matin*, *Le Midi* and *Le Soir* (Nos. 6–8, autograph of No. 7 dated 1761), in No. 31 (1765) and in No. 72 (*c.* 1763?). Others (Nos. 13 and 24) have a slow movement which employs a similar technique which is, however, more related to the concerto than the *concerto grosso;* but No. 13 is (autograph) dated 1763 and No. 24 (autograph) 1764, so that whether concerto or *concerto grosso*, Haydn's solo technique is definitely pre-1766. Another use of a solo violin in a mock recitative similar to that in the Symphony *Le Midi* occurs in the *Divertimento à nove* (Hoboken II: 17) for clarinets, horns and strings, which was composed about 1761.

(3) The second subject of No. 36's opening movement is in the dominant *minor*, a feature characteristic of the earliest symphonies written at Lukavec. We shall find this trait in No. 37's first movement, a work which is known to have been composed in 1758 or before. On the other hand, no symphony which can be positively dated after 1761 has a first movement employing this device.

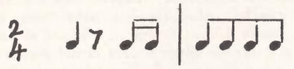
(4) None of the movements in No. 36, with the possible exception of the trio in the minuet, employs the eight- (four-) bar period. Even if we stretch a point and consider the finale as having a very rudimentary kind of 4+4 structure, it is obvious that in no way does the thematic construction of No. 36 compare with that of Nos. 35 (1 December 1767), 38, 39 or 41. In 1765, Haydn was still torn between the "spinning-out" technique of the baroque period as exemplified in No. 36 and the more modern 4+4 system; thus, the former applied to the first movement of No. 28 and partly to No. 31 as well, the latter to the first movements of Nos. 29 and 30 and the Finales of Nos. 30 and 31 as well as almost all the minuets and trios. Other movements approach the regular periodic structure (as the slow movement of No. 31) but are not yet quite regular. After 1765, Haydn inclined more and more to the regular period. Yet if we go back only one year, there is no such clear proof, and we find almost all the movements of the 1764 Symphonies (Nos. 21–4) adhering to the baroque "spinning-out" process. If we study No. 36, we find exactly that pattern; and there is the same nervous bass line in quavers such as we find in the quick movements of Nos. 21–4.

The sturdy opening *Vivace* of No. 36 reflects the sunny warmth so characteristic of Haydn's writing in E flat. The theme is one of those "spun-out" kind referred to above, which generates strength by rhythmic rather than melodic tension. Such phrases as

accompanied by semiquavers in the second violin and quavers in the lower strings generate a kind of momentum of their own. The second subject in B flat minor is constructed in baroque imitations, but the rhythmic basis of the first subject returns afterwards to conclude the exposition. The second part is not a development in the sense that Haydn's movements later became; here the material is further extended. One trait may be observed which often occurs in Haydn's first movements of the early 1760s. The second part begins with the main theme in the dominant and then modulates straight back to the tonic, still with the main theme, *after* which the extension begins, and also the modulations to remoter keys. Two offsprings of this practice may be observed: (1) it is the basis for what will later become the *fausse reprise*. But to make a "false recapitulation" there must be much more time between the statement of the theme, or whatever, in the dominant and the statement in the tonic, which turns out to be the springboard for further development rather than a recapitulation. A brilliant early example of such a *fausse reprise* occurs in the first movement of No. 41. (2) This return to the tonic to begin the development section is a feature of Haydn's mature sonata-rondo movements, usually finales. There is little doubt that this baroque turn of key (as one might call it) in No. 36, and in many other first movements of the early symphonies, is a device which later became expanded to different and structurally more potent means. Both parts of the movement are to be repeated, as is usually the case in the early symphonies: this in itself presupposes that there will not be a great crisis in the development leading to a dramatically important recapitulation, for such a second section could hardly be repeated. The later Haydn – of the London Symphonies – writes such unrepeatable second sections. But here the symphony was not yet a dramatic form of expression, nor had it been exposed to the brilliant wit of comic opera. Haydn, using these baroque methods of construction, is able to create an interesting and taut piece of music which stays at an extraordinarily high level of rhythmic tension.

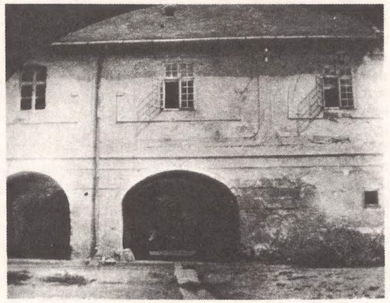
Recently the Hungarian scholar Janos Harich sent a long article to the *Haydn Yearbook* dealing with thematic catalogues in the Esterházy Archives. Among the many fascinating discoveries was a catalogue of instrumental music drawn up at Eisenstadt about the year 1740. In it, we find a great number of concertos by Vivaldi, among them *The Seasons*. Obviously some of this music was still in the Esterházy repertoire when Haydn joined the band in May 1761, especially since the music had been largely collected by Prince Paul Anton in Italy. There is, indeed, authentic evidence from Haydn's biographer Dies that it was the Prince who suggested to Haydn to set the times of day to music: *Le Matin*, *Le Midi*, *Le Soir*. No doubt all those elaborate solo passages, including soli for the double bass, did not displease Prince Paul Anton, used as he was to Vivaldi's concertos. It is also worth recalling that at this period (the early 'sixties), Haydn was interested in writing concertos himself, something he was not later in his career; this was the time when he wrote the violin concertos for Luigi Tomasini, the horn concertos, the lost concertos for flute, and for double bass, and the Concerto in C for cello which has in the last decade, since its sensational rediscovery in the Prague National Library, become popular with players and audiences alike. In No. 36's majestic *Adagio* we have what is almost completely a baroque double concerto movement for solo violin, solo cello and string orchestra. As in many, indeed most, of Haydn's slow movements of the late 1750s and early 1760s, the wind instruments are dropped. The whole structure is firmly baroque, from the dotted "French" rhythms to the fact that sometimes (as in bars 4 and 5) only the *basso continuo* supports the two solo instruments; and of course the movement is in typical Vivaldian "ritornello" form, that is to say the music modulates from one key to another and is "set up" by the *forte ritornello*. Perhaps its delightfully old-fashioned cast is a hint of what Prince Paul Anton liked in the way of music.

There is nothing old-fashioned about the *Menuetto*, with its very Austrian "snap" in the violins. The Trio is very original, using the oboe almost like an organ in the first section. And the Finale, too, is in the most modern 1760-ish language, with an intriguing second subject in darting semiquavers for the first violin.

Symphony No. 37 in C. Scoring: (1) first version, probably the earliest, and that found in the 1758 Schwarzenberg copy, 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to the bass line of which has been added a bassoon and a harpsichord *continuo*, as was Haydn's practice at this time. We are fortunate in having an interesting collection of early Haydn Symphonies which the writer of these notes identified in the Budapest National Library ten years ago. They were owned by a Lieutenant-Colonel von Fürnberg who was probably a relative of the Fürnberg at whose summer castle in Weinzierl Haydn composed his first string quartets. Haydn corrected these symphonic parts for the military Fürnberg, even rewriting the horn parts at one passage in the first movement of Symphony No. 11. In this collection, No. 37 figures as "Sinfonia Ex C à 8. 2 Violini 2 Oboi 2 Corni Viola con Basso Del Sigre Giuseppe Heydn". It is copied by a man whom we have not been able to identify but whom Haydn used often, *inter alia* when he was selling MS. copies of his new piano sonatas "de anno 1776". (2) The second version of No. 37 comes from Haydn's friend, Ritter von Kees, who was a great music lover and had large orchestral concerts in his Viennese home. Haydn was often present and the name Kees often occurs in the composer's letters. Kees made, probably with Haydn's assistance, a thematic catalogue of Haydn's symphonies up to 1790, when the composer went to England. Haydn owned a duplicate copy. Part of the Kees collection was sold after his death to the Thurn und Taxis Archives in Regensburg, and it happens that not only the thematic catalogue but also the MS. parts by the same copyist of Symphony No. 37 are still in the Regensburg library today. Here the Symphony has different oboe parts, which are palpably spurious, but instead of horns (in C *basso*) it has trumpets playing the same parts an octave higher, and timpani. It is likely that Haydn added timpani parts for some of his symphonies, and probably for performances at the Kees household: the trumpet and drum parts for Symphony No. 75 may have come into existence in this way. The kettledrum part of No. 37 is tasteful and it might have been added by Haydn, but there is no other evidence of it.

Once again it is the rhythmic content that holds together the almost "theme-less" opening subject: the rhythm

is indeed developed right during the theme, which even in this very early Symphony is a Haydnesque fingerprint. The second subject is in G minor, with a rather mournful violin line that moves from d to g via e flat and f sharp, giving a rather Hungarian flavour to the whole. In the development, we note that, just as in No. 36, Haydn modulates back to the main key, and the main subject, before starting the development; he is clever enough to avoid stating the main subject at the beginning of the recapitulation. It is all on a rather primitive level, no doubt, but one notes the impeccable craftsmanship and the enormous energy and vitality that pulse through this young man's impetuous *Presto*.

The *Menuet* is placed second, as Haydn often does in his string quartets up to Opus 20 and sometimes does in his symphonies. A typical baroque feature is the little interlude at the beginning of the second part, just for the two violins. One notes the frequent use of triplet quavers, a device one often encounters in Haydn's early minuets. The Trio drops the wind parts: this, too, is typical. They were usually omitted in preclassical symphonies from trio and slow movement, as they are here. Haydn already has a keen sense of key relationships. Both the Trio and the slow movement are in the tonic minor: a very Italian minor, too, like Vivaldi's. Pensive, graceful but not at all tragic; no more sombre than a summer cloud over the Lombardian or Venetian landscape. Yet though the language of this kind of movement is frankly derived from Italian models, Haydn has contrived to make the work as a whole sound like a typical Austrian chamber symphony (we speak of the first, trumpet- and drum-less version, of course). This is especially true of the Finale, which has a very Austrian sound to it: especially those triplets, which derive from the dance in general and the minuet in particular.



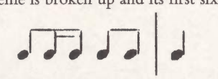
Entrance to the musicians' house at Eszterháza Castle.

Haydn's seal. 1771.

Symphony No. 38 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C (probably *alto*), 2 trumpets, timpani, strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*. The sources to this brilliant Symphony suggest that Haydn revised it at least twice. There are four passages in the first movement where Haydn originally had rests for the wind instruments; a whole group of early MSS. show this reading. Listeners may hear one such passage clearly: the second subject starts out for strings alone; after four bars the oboes join. This happens not only in the exposition but also in the recapitulation. These oboe passages are one of the things that Haydn seems to have added later. (Or did he remove them later? It seems unlikely.) The second principal revision is the addition of trumpets and timpani. Many of the oldest sources do not contain them. There is in fact a very simple explanation for their omission, namely that at this period there were no trumpet players in the Esterházy establishment and no regular kettledrum player. Later Haydn got round this problem by having C *alto* horn parts and kettledrums in his C major works, but he seems to have hit on this idea in 1773 when performing his opera. *L'infedeltà delusa* for the first time. We have no idea at which point he added the trumpets and timpani, but they are found in good sources of the year 1769 (Göttweig, Breitkopf) and so possibly there is another explanation: Haydn wrote the Symphony *with* the trumpets and timpani (which he could have in Eisenstadt by recruiting the *Thurnermeister* and his apprentices) and later sold authentic copies without them, for bands (such as his own) that did not have these instruments available. Perhaps that is why Joseph Elssler's beautifully written manuscript parts, which professor J. P. Larsen and the present writer found at the Academy Library in Bratislava in 1959, lack the trumpets and timpani. The source was owned by the Servite Monastery in Pest (today's Budapest) and is dated 1777 by *them* (not by Elssler, who may have written it ten years earlier).

Here we have, in No. 38, one of the first Esterházy symphonies in Haydn's festival key, and with the festival C horns (here also with trumpets) and timpani. These works of pomp and circumstance run like a silver thread all through Haydn's long career: from his first works for Count Morzin (which included several festival symphonies: Nos. 32 and 33 in any case, perhaps also No. 20, which is a difficult work to date), to this No. 38, and then to No. 41 (which we shall be examining *infra*), No. 48 (the famous *Maria Theresa* Symphony which was not composed for her), No. 50 (written for Maria Theresa but not known under that title) and culminating for a moment in the glorious No. 56. Later we find No. 60 (*Il distratto*), No. 63 (*La Roxelane*) and the once-famous *Laudon* Symphony (No. 69); then *L'ours* and No. 90 for the French capital, and ending with the greatest of them all: Symphony No. 97 (London, 1792).

Although a festival Symphony, we feel the enormously increased poise and self-confidence compared to its numerical predecessor in the same key, composed a decade earlier. Haydn's language has become clearer, immensely more powerful and better organized. Notice the new strength at the beginning of the development, where the theme is broken up and its first six notes



used to urge the music into G minor and then D minor and A minor, before we subside into the subdominant, F major. This is music very much of the period *c.* 1766–8. We must not forget that in 1766, Haydn became Chief *Capellmeister*, succeeding Gregor Werner who died in that year. The change in outward circumstances matched

Haydn's own change of style. We notice a new seriousness of purpose, of language. Haydn could now write church music, a task previously allotted to Werner, and in 1766 we have the large-scale *Missa Cellensis in honorem B.V.M.*, a huge Mass for the great baroque pilgrimage church of Mariazell in Styria, to be followed the next year by the famous *Stabat Mater*. All this attention to larger vocal music found its effect on the symphonies, which grow increasingly serious as the 1760s end.

The second movement is still very much rooted in baroque tradition. Here we have an "echo" movement, so beloved by baroque composers, even to J. S. Bach in the *Christmas Oratorio*. Haydn devises the echo as follows: violin I is without mutes, violin II with mutes. They echo each other in an entrancing way in this delicate and poised *Andante molto*, made doubly delicate by dropping all the winds and of course the kettledrums and also by having the entire movement played *piano*, like some tiny music-box in a forgotten room of an unused castle wing. It is an enchanting effect.

The Minuet has become firmer, the melodic lines much more sharply etched, and even more Austrian. The Minuet of Symphony No. 37 could be international preclassical, but this *Menuet*, despite its French spelling, is purely Austrian. We are surprised to find the Trio given over entirely to an elaborate oboe solo. But we are in for more oboe surprises in the Finale, and it is only then that we see that Haydn has secretly revealed his plan earlier in the Trio. (Again, this is a trait that will become typical for late Haydn symphonies: to foretell a big solo, or a remote key, earlier in the work.) This Finale is by far the most colourful movement since the fireworks of No. 31 with its incredible horn soli. In No. 38's conclusion we find: (1) the most highly-developed example of sonata form found in any Haydn finale to date; (2) an interesting and characteristic use of motives derived from the main subject; (3) Haydn's first full-scale use of contrapuntal devices in a finale written in sonata form (as opposed to strict fugues such as the Finale to No. 40); (4) the use of a solo instrument (the oboe) in a concerto-like manner as in the slow movement of No. 36 just discussed. What raises this Finale over earlier specimens (like No. 37's) is the judicious combination of symphonic, polyphonic and *concertante* elements, all of which are neatly worked into sonata form.

The oboe solo is actually so unbelievable, coming at the end of a learned contrapuntal section, that one is tempted to look for an outside explanation. We believe there is one, and we put it forward as a possible reason for this sudden fascination with the first oboe part. On 1 September 1768, Haydn engaged a famous oboe player, Vittorino Colombazzo, who received the very high salary of 400 Gulden (and emoluments) a year. Before coming to Eisenstadt he had been in the service of the Archduke of Württemberg. Ten years later he came to Eszterháza, where he drew the highest salary paid to wind players. Colombazzo stayed the first time only from 1 September to 19 December at Eisenstadt. Is it not possible that Haydn was perhaps in the middle of Symphony No. 38 when the famous oboe player was engaged, and always ready to display a new performer's talents, the composer wrote the Trio and the Finale to introduce Vittorino Colombazzo to His Serene Highness, Prince Nicolaus Esterházy (who had become reigning prince in 1762)? There are reasons for supposing that the four horn parts of Symphonies Nos. 13 (1763) and 72 (1763?) are to introduce the new sound of four horns to the Prince. Perhaps Symphony No. 38 is a tribute to a great oboe player. It would be typical of Haydn to combine, as it were, business with pleasure . . .

Symphony No. 39 in G Minor. Scoring: 2 oboes, 4 horns, strings, to which has been added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*. No. 39 was, as we have seen, entered in the *Entwurf-Katalog* at the top of page two, in pencil, to the left of a group entry including No. 26 in D minor (*Lamentatione*). These two Symphonies in minor keys – to which may be added the "church sonata" Symphony No. 34 in D minor composed about 1766 – are the first tangible results of Haydn's increasing interest in minor keys. The *Stabat Mater* of 1767 is in G minor.

Very little is known about Haydn's personal life during these critical years. This almost total absence of concrete facts about his early years as *Capellmeister* to the Esterházy court renders it difficult to explain the extraordinary change which began to take place during the latter half of the 'sixties. One explanation is perhaps that Haydn seems to have suffered a dangerous illness about 1766; in fact he nearly died from it. Many years later, when in London, he explained the circumstances of the crucial *Stabat Mater* to the Rev. Christian Ignatius Latrobe, a Moravian minister and composer. Latrobe wrote down his conversations with Haydn in a letter to the British musician Vincent Novello. Latrobe tells us how in his early years he studied Haydn's *Stabat Mater*, a work which "more than any other . . . helped to form my taste, & make me more zealous in the pursuit of this noble science."

> He [Haydn] seemed delighted to hear my remarks on a Composition, [continued Latrobe] which he declared to be one of his favourites, & added, that it was no wonder, that it partook of a religious fervor, for it had been composed in the performance of a religious Vow. He then gave me the following account of it. Sometime about the year 1770 [*recte; c.* 1766], (but as to the particular year, I am not sure), he was siezed [*sic*] with a violent disorder, which threatened his life. "I was", said he "not prepared to die, and prayed to God to have mercy upon me & grant me recovery. I also vowed, that if I were restored to health, I would compose a Stabat Mater in honor of the blessed Virgin, as a token of thankfulness. My prayer was heard & I recovered. With a grateful sense of my duty, I cheerfully set about the performance of my Vow, & endeavoured to do it in my best manner . . ."

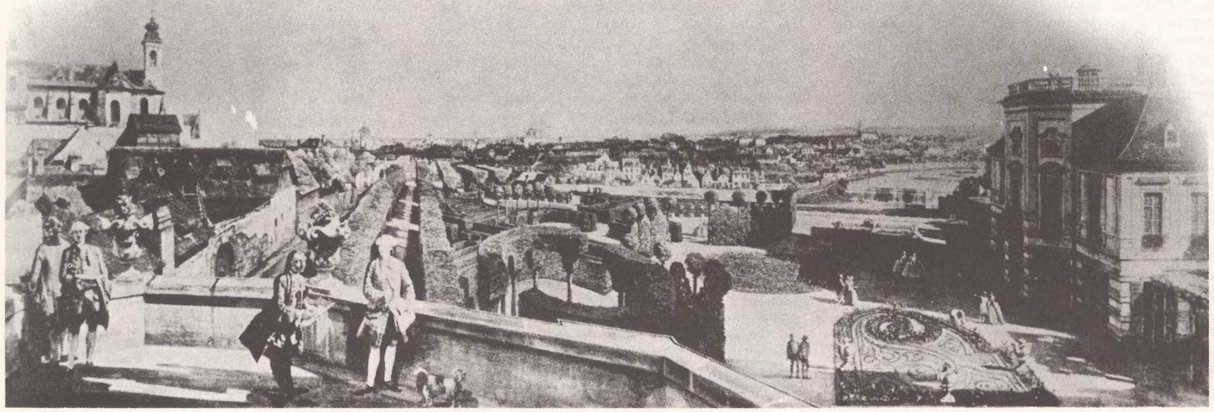
Vienna. View with the Karlskirche, the Belvedere and the Schwarzenberg Palace. Drawn and engraved by Johann Ziegler.

Probably the great *Missa Cellensis in honorem B.V.M.* of 1766 is also a thank-offering to the Blessed Virgin; it is also noteworthy that the next Mass, the *Missa in honorem B.V.M.* (known as the Great Organ Mass), composed about 1768, is also dedicated to the Virgin. At any rate, this emotional upheaval brought with it the composer's full maturity. The force that generated this new style has often been termed *Sturm und Drang*, a term derived from German literature and taking its name from a play by Klinger of 1776. The "Storm and Stress" occurred earlier in Austrian music, however, and it was not limited to Haydn. The whole of Austrian music seemed to undergo what Wyzewa, the Mozart scholar, termed "La crise romantique de la vie de Joseph Haydn". We find sombre minor keys and fugal quartets in the works of Florian Leopold Gassmann and Carlos d'Ordoñez (who despite his Spanish name was a Viennese official and composer), and there are passionate symphonies in minor keys by Johann Baptist Vanhal, a talented *seguace* of Haydn's, Ordoñez , Dittersdorf and others. For one thing, the minor key in itself was now treated entirely differently. Previously the minor mode had been used by Haydn only in individual slow movements or as part of a finale in rondo form; its use in no way indicated an emotion different from the typical light Italian sadness which we have observed in connection with No. 37. After 1761, hardly any symphony by Haydn contains movements in the minor. In his usual, cautious way he now begins the series with a Symphony (No. 34) of mixed tonal scheme, opening with a tragic and poignant slow movement in D minor, much in the manner of the church-sonata symphonies of 1764 (Nos. 21, 22). The remaining three movements of No. 34 are, however, all in D major and become successively more light-hearted. Following this work, though intermixed with a number of symphonies in the major, Haydn wrote Nos. 26, 39 and 49, each of which is written entirely (except for an occasional section, such as the Trios) in a minor key and is spiritually far removed from the carefree style of Haydn's early years. Speaking of this problem, the Swiss scholar Bernhard Rywosch says:

> A symphony in the minor means something out of the ordinary for a symphonist of the eighteenth century. The minor, as the tonality of the outer movements, is the vehicle for the expression of passion or grief. This is in contradistinction to a large number of thoroughly festive, joyous concertos of the baroque era (*cf.* Vivaldi: *Concerti Grossi* in A minor, D minor). Philipp Emanuel Bach, on the other hand, uses minor tonality wholly to serve the expression of passion, perhaps most persuasively in the clavier concertos, for example the Clavier (Harpsichord) Concerto in D minor.

We know how assiduously Haydn, during his student years in Vienna, studied and admired the keyboard works of C. P. E. Bach; yet it was many years before Haydn's music was to show what he is often quoted as having said; namely, that "anyone can see how much I have learned from [C.P.E.] Bach." It took nearly a decade for the enthusiasm of student days to become the reality of the *Sturm und Drang*.

It cannot, however, be said that C.P.E. Bach's style manifests itself directly in Haydn's music; rather it was the underlying spiritual *beliefs* of the former that appear to have exerted such a profound influence on the young composer. Bach's fundamental artistic code was something that artists of the Renaissance had realized long before: that all art should contain a spiritual message and must breathe it forth with an emotion so immediate and so powerful that the listener, seeing or hearing it, must perforce grasp its real significance. The idea that music might have a deeper meaning, that art was not only to entertain and delight, must have burst over Haydn's ordered scheme of things (in which the summit of his ambition had been to provide the most attractive music he could compose for the amusement of his princely audience) just as Donatello's new concept of sculpture burst over the beginnings of the Italian Renaissance. In conjunction with this new artistic principle, Haydn's style appears to have come under another influence of far greater importance than has hitherto been realized: the new operatic style of Gluck. It is significant that the latter's *Orfeo* (1762) and *Alceste* (1768) must have reached Haydn's ears just at this crucial stage in his artistic development. Recently the Hungarian scholar Janos Harich has shown that Haydn actually conducted Gluck's *Orfeo* at Eisenstadt, and we know that Haydn inserted bits of Gluck's ballet music into the second version of the marionette opera, *Philemon und Baucis* (*c.* 1776?), and ended it with a Gluck ballet suite from *Paride ed Elena* (1770). The sober, severe classical beauty of Gluck's music is so obviously reflected in Haydn's works, especially those under consideration, that it is strange that none of the writers on either composer has more than touched on this interesting aspect of Gluck's influence.



Vienna. View from the Kaunitz Palace. Painting by Bernardo Bellotto.

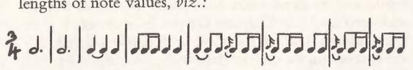
Haydn's G minor Symphony is original in many ways, not only for the harshness of its language, especially of the first movement and Finale, but for its orchestration. Here Haydn uses four horns, two in B flat *alto* and two in G. This means, firstly, that he can create sumptuous horn chords, and secondly that he has a pair of horns at his disposal when he modulates to the relative major. Haydn's work had far-reaching consequences. J. B. Vanhal modelled his G minor Symphony on it, even to the four horns (a new edition of the Vanhal has been published recently by Verlag Doblinger in Vienna), and so, in 1773, did the young Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (also using four horns in the Haydnesque disposition). And it is worth recalling that when Mozart began the great G minor Symphony K.550, he started to write for four horns, two in B flat *alto* and two in G, later reducing them to two.

The first movement of No. 39 is curiously unsettling. The main theme is announced and continued *piano*, and the tension inherent in its thematic layout is heightened by the extraordinary use of silence between the various sections. (This use of rests to increase the dramatic effect becomes a very important detail in Haydn's mature style, of which we are now on the threshold; no one knew better than Haydn how to employ the art of silence, and many of his finest effects are derived by the simple expedient of inserting a pause in the right place.) In No. 39's opening *Allegro assai*, the whole character of the movement is changed by the use of a rest in the middle of the main subject. To give the second part of the melody a still more individual twist, Haydn stretches the last phrase with its characteristic octave skip, so that the theme simply dies away to nothing. The structure of the three component parts (4+6+4) is also cleverly veiled by the insertion of rests. Having achieved such a restless, almost frustrated atmosphere, Haydn creates a still more unified tension by employing this one theme throughout the movement. Indeed, Haydn cannot escape from its hypnotic effect: he modulates from the tonic to the relative major: and the first subject appears, extending itself contrapuntally. In the development, he reaches a superb, five-part tutti in which the violins, in imitation, sweep through a fine sequence; and again, we see that the oboe part is based upon a tiny fragment of the main theme, the string parts being derived from a figure found at the end of the exposition which, in turn, is developed out of the principal theme. The whole movement is held together by a device which any student of Haydn's symphonies composed in the early 1760s knows: a bass line constantly moving in quavers.

After the tension of the first movement, the quiet little *Andante* for strings only, is a throw-back to an earlier style: Haydn has not yet learned the secret of keeping up the tension throughout a whole work. The Minuet is again a wholly serious piece worthy of the outer movements, while the Trio, in B flat (the relative major), is again rather jovial. It is only the Finale which really reaches the inspiration of the first movement. Here we have, in a symphony in a minor key, the same highly advanced type of movement discussed in connection with Symphony No. 38. If the two middle movements of No. 39 were on the same high artistic level of the outer allegros, we should have had one of Haydn's finest *Sturm und Drang* symphonies; as it is, this flawed masterpiece is one of the most interesting of this strange interim period. What makes this Finale successful is not only the energetic drive and the nervous semiquavers which carry on the restless spirit of the opening movement, but the care with which Haydn has provided a number of dynamic contrasts; thus, the violins rush down the scale into a *subito piano* (bars 14ff.), while after the double bar, the first and second violins have a long passage by themselves, *piano*; and the rest of the development is characterized by continual alterations of *p* and *f*.

Symphony No. 40 in F. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which has been added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*. In the autograph the Trio is scored for oboes, horns and strings; but in one contemporary manuscript, the Trio is scored for oboes, horns and bassoon, with the strings silent. We have no idea if this charming version is authentic.

The first movement is a breezy *Allegro* in three-four time. Unlike some of the main themes of this period, this one is asymmetrical, that is, not composed in equal numbers of bars. The forward-moving character of the theme, which is clearly felt, is achieved by rhythmic diminution or, if you will, by constantly decreasing the lengths of note values, *viz.*:



etc. Like so many movements of the early 'sixties, there is no real subject; when Haydn reaches the dominant, he pauses a moment and then resumes the spinning out, or extension, of material found in the opening subject.

The slow movement (*Andante più tosto allegretto*, B flat, 2/4) is one of the most original and delightful of the period. It owes its basic character – a "quick slow movement", one might term it – and the use of two-part harmony almost throughout (violins together, viola doubling the bass line) to the famous *Mann und Weib* movement of the early C major Divertimento entitled *Der Geburtstag* (Hoboken II: 11). Haydn's biographer Dies tells us that when this kind of two-part texture first appeared in the early Haydn quartets, it made a positive sensation in the musical world of the time. It was, in one way, a deliberate return to the type of *continuo* writing of the baroque period, in which the harpsichord filled in all the missing harmonies; but Haydn has brought the device "up to date", has filled it with his modern rhythms and harmonies, his humour, his delicately balanced formal sense. If you analyze this *Andante*, you will see that it is worked out in the greatest detail so that the second part, after the double bar, balances the first without directly repeating the opening material. Only once, in all Haydn's hundred-odd symphonies, does he treat us to this kind of light, dancing "Midsummer Night's Dream" music whose subtle, scherzo-like effervescence brings us close to the enchanted world of Mendelssohn.

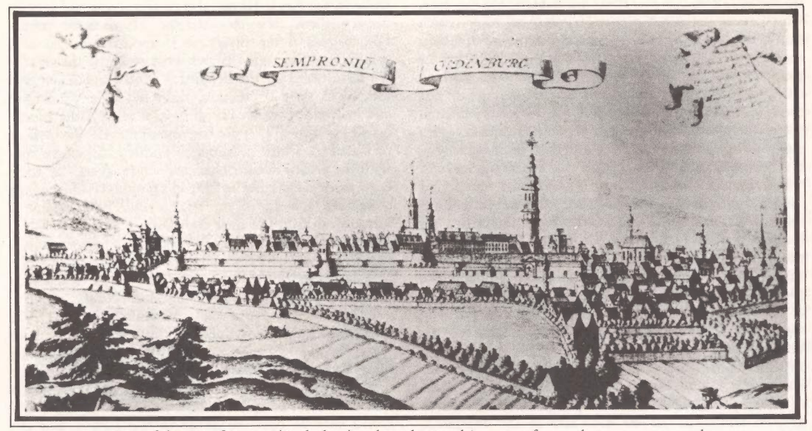
The *Menuet* is beautifully rounded and sonorous, with a delightful Trio almost like a *divertimento* of the period. The *Finale* is a strict fugue; apart from one more fascinating example (a giant triple fugue at the end of Symphony No. 70 in D, composed in 1779), it is the last time in a symphony when Haydn has recourse to a full blown fugue. Haydn's contrapuntal education was from the famous theoretical treatise by Fux entitled *Gradus ad Parnassum*, and he made his own extract for his composition pupils (one copy, owned by a pupil named Magnus, has fortunately survived and is now in the Esterházy Archives at Budapest). Here, in No. 40's Finale, is a typically Fuxian fugue, with the *cantus firmus* melodies that we find in his great textbook. It was Haydn's favourite practice to announce the fugue simultaneously with its countersubject in a kind of third species counterpoint. Actually, the previous fugues have something slightly schoolmasterly about them: they reek of the classroom (or, if you will, the Fuxian page) rather than the orchestral hall. But in No. 40 Haydn creates a strict fugue along his own lines: the rest at the beginning of bar 3 in the subject provides a typically Haydnesque impetus to the whole contrapuntal texture. Incidentally, you will hear at once what makes this movement such a successful combination of *stile antico* and Haydn: the episodic material, as it is termed in theory books, is textually contrapuntal but has a strong motivic and rhythmic background which brings us forward to 1763. The ends of such episodes will also revert to Haydn's usual orchestral texture, and of course the work must conclude with a rousing pedal point, a tremendous build-up of motion and tension (the syncopated violins are most important here), followed by the kind of unison that Haydn so loved and that his listeners undoubtedly received with 1763-ish (as opposed to 1663-ish historical) satisfaction. The movement is a brilliant *tour-de-force*, but it is not something Haydn chose to repeat often in an orchestral work. The reader who knows his late Haydn Masses, however, will realize at once that this movement laid the groundwork for the enormous contrapuntal structures which make the Masses and the last two Oratorios (*The Creation* and *The Seasons*) the towering monuments they are.

Symphony No. 41 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C *alto*, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings, to which a bassoon has been added, as was Haydn's general practice. In the slow movement the scoring is for 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 horns in C *basso* and strings.

Haydn's festival key, C major, has an historical explanation. By the time Haydn was a choir-boy in St. Stephan's Cathedral in Vienna, the average festival mass in which he will have participated was in C major, and this would be the key indelibly fixed on his mind as the "Missa Solemnis" tonality. If we examine fifty such masses in, say, the old monastery library at Göttweig (with which institution Haydn had at least indirect contact by 1762 and his younger brother Johann Michael as early as 1759), over half will be in C major. Vocally this is a convenient range, because bottom G in the bass clef is about the lowest note most average basses can sing openly, while top G for tenor and (an octave higher) for soprano is also as high as either group can manage without considerable vocal strain: and these G's would also be the dominant of the principal key of C. Trumpets and drums also sound martial and potent in that key. The sound of these harsh and biting C *alto*, or high C horns, together with the trumpets and timpani is intoxicating; it is a very Haydnish sound, too, which never appears in Mozart's or Beethoven's symphonies (though Mozart occasionally used C *alto* horns). In the orchestral layout of such a work as No. 41, it is fascinating to see how Haydn "saves" his horn players: the top range, with g^2 and very occasionally a^2 (as in the Trio of No. 41), is very difficult to sustain for any length of time, and one notes that it is always used for a special effect. In No. 41, for example, the first trumpet has the top g's in the *Allegro con spirito*, bars 16/18, as it does in the flaming orchestral passage at bars 165 *et seq.* The very strain of producing the long top g in No. 56's first movement, bars 212ff., not to speak of the shocking, barbaric sound of bars 263/266, lends a physical tension to a music already packed with nervous excitement.

We may wonder for what purposes these festive symphonies were written. In a series like the "Paris" and "London" works, it is clear that as a "diversion" it was a good idea to have one of the set in C. In the 1760s, Haydn may have written one or the other of these pieces for performance at an Austrian monastery (he was on friendly terms with several); some were undoubtedly composed for festive occasions at Eisenstadt or Eszterháza, such as No. 50, written (it would seem) to celebrate the arrival of the Empress Maria Theresa at the Hungarian Castle on the Neusiedlersee. Is it an accident that both the operas composed or played in her honour in September 1773, *Philemon und Baucis* and *L'infedeltà delusa*, end with C major tuttis and flourishes of the C *alto* horns?

Symphony No. 41 may have been written originally without the trumpets and timpani, which were lacking in Haydn's band at this period. At least the only authentic manuscript, by Joseph Elssler, which we discovered at Prague (from the Archives of Kačina Castle) many years ago, is scored for C *alto* horns but without trumpets and timpani, which latter instruments are found in many good sources – also in a MS. in the Esterházy Archives – and are certainly genuine. The first movement is in three-four time, the same metre as in Nos. 50, 56 and 60 (not counting the slow introductions). Students of Haydn will notice the clearly defined subsidiary subject (something of a rarity), also the new orchestral layout of the strings wherein the violas double the first violins at the octave in those so characteristic "rushing" passages in repeated semiquavers (*e.g.* bars 29ff.). Still another important orchestral device – it can be melodic, too – is the bouncing, wide skips of bars 44ff. This wide melodic range is a specialty of Haydn's style in the late 1760s and early 1770s. Finally, we would point to a famous device of Haydn's during the early 1770s, namely the *fausse reprise* or false recapitulation, which occurs during the development and leads the unwary listener to believe he is back at the repetition of the initial, expository material. We mentioned a rudimentary form of the *fausse reprise* in connection with No. 37's first movement, but here in No. 41 the device is used in full scale. The almost classic "false recapitulation" occurs at bar 97, after which we are whirled away into G minor and a long sequence in A minor: the real reprise begins at bar 133.



View of the city of Sopron (Oedenburg), where the Esterházy court frequently spent some months. Engraving by J. C. Leopold and Friedrich Bernhard Werner.

The second movement has Haydn's favourite device of muted violins, but the orchestra has changed: the horns are in C *basso* and a flute has joined the woodwind. What a rich tapestry of sound Haydn weaves, the flute rushing up and down in arabesques over a broad oboe cantilena and held horns! The discreet strings tap out a gentle reminder of the 2/4 beat as we are borne aloft in this extraordinarily beautiful and "rafinée" ensemble. Notice the "broken" melodic pattern of bars 24ff.: this kind of syncopation is a frequent guest at Haydn's table during the late 1760s. Like so many Haydnesque accompaniments, this one begins to be more and more insistent, colouring, underlining, shaping the whole development section (bars 25 *et seq.*).

The *Menuet* is more French than anything else, with its pompous trills and triplets; and to offset it Haydn writes a heavenly Trio which is completely and captivatingly Austrian – like the faint echo of an old and long-forgotten Tyrolean song. The Finale is a rushing *moto perpetuo* in which the pulse of the music is whipped along in quaver triplets (for some reason this sounds quicker if written in two-four with triplets than if it had been written in the more convenient six-eight). At the end the brass instruments hammer the repeated chords to a rousing and deafening close. It is the most brilliant and most successful of Haydn's festive C major symphonies up to now.

Symphony No. 42 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, strings. We have often mentioned that a bassoon was added "as a matter of course" to the *basso continuo*. In several of the works now under examination, we may find concrete proof of the bassoons' rôle. Haydn's autograph of No. 42 specifies no bassoons at the beginning of the Symphony; but in the middle of the Finale, there is a whole little section of wind band, and the bass line suddenly directs: "2 Fagotti" (to which Haydn later added "o Violoncelli" in case a band might not have two bassoons). Now obviously the bassoons did not sit through three movements and then play sixteen bars, only to stop playing afterwards. They played with the bass line before. Perhaps they even played in the slow movements, because there is a note at the beginning of No. 47's slow movement, "Fagotto sempre col Basso", and no bassoon is mentioned before or afterwards in Haydn's autograph of that work.

No 42 is a witty, bright and marvellously written Symphony in the traditionally brilliant key of D major, the most popular of all keys in eighteenth century symphonies. Everything sounds alive in D major, but especially the strings; and Haydn exploits this joyously throughout the work. The first movement starts out like an operatic aria, with "joking" *acciaccature* in the violins, followed by a singing melody; and this joke is magnified when the theme is repeated shortly afterwards, by piling

up the *acciaccature* and introducing triplets into the fray. This is undoubtedly the first Haydn symphony which shows the beneficial and exhilarating influence of Italian comic opera. (Haydn himself had just completed *Le pescatrici* the year before [1770], his finest stage work to date, and full of that wit for which the composer was soon to become so famous.) Here is an instrumental piece which could be the *sinfonia* to some rollicking *opera buffa*: the surprise of the old ward who finds his charge has been seduced by a penniless but charming suitor is transmuted into the symphony. It is now the unexpected modulation, the quacking bassoon, the strutting horn that inform this music: the *sala terrena* at Eszterháza has become a stage. Haydn has also become another composer. Previously one sensed, now and then, a certain stiffness in his music, a certain scholarly bent (much more pronounced in his brother Michael); now, with one sweep of the *buffa* broom, Haydn is completely relaxed. The two main characteristics of the first movement are brilliance and humour, though both are relieved – as in all great comedians – by a tender side. (Like Watteau, Haydn was "tendre et peut-être un peu berger . . ."). And of course he is well on his way to becoming music's greatest craftsman. As we modulate to the dominant, Haydn becomes marvellously and poetically sidetracked, even passing through B major en route to A; but the scholarly bent is now effortlessly integrated into the style as a whole. There was plenty of thought for the connoisseur, but plenty, too, for the average music-lover, who will have relished the dashing violins in semiquavers and the sweep of this wonderful movement. There is a delicately poised second subject, for strings alone, in perfectly proportioned four-bar phrases. The poise of the later Viennese classical style is now with us.

The beautiful slow movement (not so slow: *Andantino e cantabile*) retains, as do all Haydn's slow movements in this album from now on, the wind instruments; but they are used with great delicacy, almost colouristically. The melody sounds like an old song, a church tune perhaps; Haydn has learned the trick of writing music so close to folk-songs as to be almost identical with the real thing. It was a conscious effort, too. Those readers who possess a score may like to examine an interesting change Haydn made. The original version of bars 43-45 and 141-3 were quite different; after bar 45 three whole bars are crossed out, and after 143 another three bars; in the first of these passages Haydn led the violins to b sharp

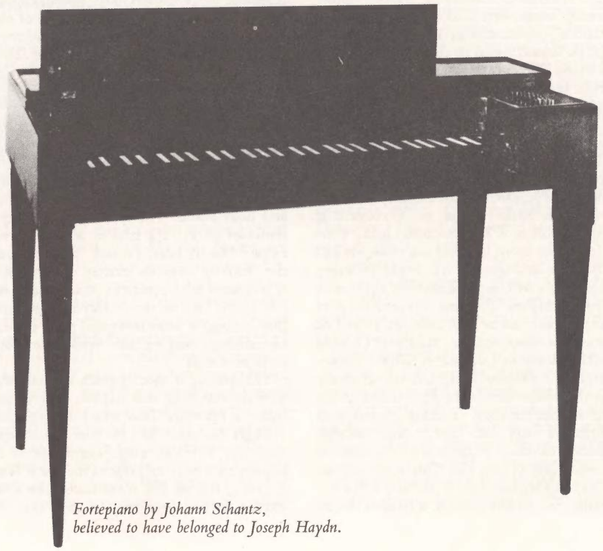
but then crossed it out and made a note on the autograph, "Dieses war vor gar zu gelehrte Ohren" (This was for just too scientific [learned] ears). More and more, Haydn felt that *Vox populi* was *Vox Dei* . . .

The *Menuet* is so infectious and so gay that it must be a very jaded person who will not succumb to its charms. And what about that incredible Trio, where the *piano* violins imitate far-away D trumpets, even to the typical trills? In the Finale Haydn also creates a new and revolutionary form: the characteristic Haydnesque rondo. Perhaps this is the first time it appears, at least in a symphony. The tune that we seem to know the minute we have heard it; the delightful wind band sextet that follows as the "B" section, right out of a wind-band *divertimento* (of which Haydn wrote many); the mock-heroic section ("D") in the minor; even the *fermata* preceded by a little sentimental journey; the brave end, with the violins in their energetic semiquavers – all these are stylistic details dear to Haydn's famous rondos, which conquered Europe in the next decade and became a virtuoso speciality of their composer.

Symphony No. 43 in E flat ("*Mercury*"). 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which a bassoon has been added as part of the *continuo*. It is not known why this work was called "Merkur" (Mercury) in the nineteenth century.

It might be said that Austrian composers *anno* 1770 wrote two kinds of symphonies. First, there were those "grand" ones with trumpets and timpani. Often one finds such works specifically listed in contemporary programmes, *e.g.* "Grosse Symphonie, mit Trompeten und Paucken". In Haydn's case, this mean C major and works such as Nos. 38 or 41 in this album. But the Austrians also cultivated another kind of work, a chamber symphony, with singing allegros. J. B. Vanhal was a specialist in this sort of symphony, which often began (unlike most of Haydn's) with a *cantabile* theme, *piano*, on an upbeat. This is not to say that chamber symphonies did not include stirring tuttis and many loud passages; but the listener will hear the difference at once between Mozart's chamber Symphony in A, K. 201 (or in B flat, K. 319) and the "Grosse Symphonie mit Trompeten und Paucken" which is the *Haffner Symphony*, K. 385. There is a similar difference between the *Mercury* Symphony, which is definitely of chamber proportions and sound, and the much more extrovert and louder No. 41. Actually, during the period under discussion, Haydn begins to merge the two kinds: not so much with trumpets and timpani (though we soon begin to encounter those instruments in keys other than C, *e.g.* No. 54 in G of 1774) but in overall style. You would not call No. 44 in E minor a chamber symphony: its scope, its language, its message are all too big in scale for that description.

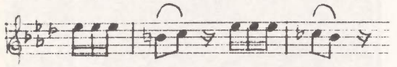
On the other hand, No. 43 is the Austrian chamber symphony *par excellence*. The *genre* was highly successful, and not only with Austrian monks and German princes. No. 43 figured in the *Musique du Roy* 1782 at the Court of Louis XVI. (No doubt it was Marie Antoinette who specially appreciated hearing this reminder of her happier and less troubled childhood . . .). The whole first theme is intensely lyric, in fact one of the longest of its kind that Haydn ever wrote; he almost loses himself in the slow-moving crochets. To balance this *embarras de richesse*, we have a long and vigorous passage with the usual marching quavers in the bass line and dancing violins in semiquavers; and yet the astute listener will note that this is not a *heavy* tutti. The orchestra is beautifully transparent, the horns providing a nice "cutting edge" to the texture. There is a great deal of material to



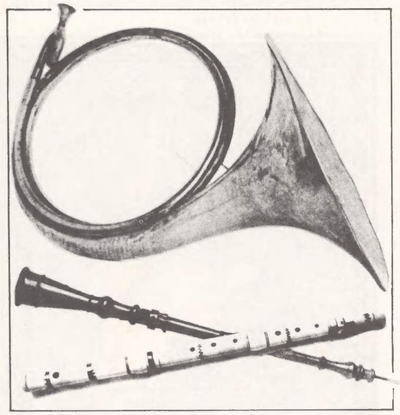
Fortepiano by Johann Schantz, believed to have belonged to Joseph Haydn.

balance this long, lyrical opening subject, but there is no real second subject; for what takes its place is simply a reworking of the principal theme. There is Haydn's beloved *fausse reprise*, which is one of the theatrical poses that somehow seem to be derived from the *opera buffa* – the careful cultivation of the unexpected. When the recapitulation finally appears, Haydn once again loses himself in a bemused contemplation of the first subject's lyrical extension.

This is altogether a Symphony in which Haydn frequently allows himself the unusual luxury of dwelling on a subject longer, perhaps, than the material would lead us to expect, and certainly longer than is his wont. (Haydn always had an impeccable sense of timing, and his music is almost never too long; indeed his self-discipline is almost monastic.) In the rhapsodic slow movement, the wind instruments are, of course, retained, as they always are in this period; but they are, as in No. 42's *Andantino*, used with great fastidiousness and very sparingly. The strings are muted, and this *Adagio*, like almost all these slow movements, has a strong sense of nostalgia which is very characteristic. Here Haydn gets monumentally sidetracked by a little phrase which goes



A large part of the development section is concerned with an extension of this phrase, which Haydn pushes to the point of obsession.

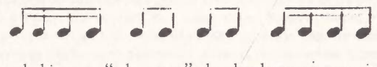


Wind instruments from Haydn's time. In Haydn's earlier symphonies, as a rule the strings were completed by two Oboes, a Flute and two Horns.

The *Menuetto* is another hit tune, marvellously kinetic and very Austrian. It simply could not have been composed by an Italian or an Englishman. Many years later, Haydn was talking to a Swedish colleague after the first public performance of the *Creation*. The conversation fell on Haydn's minuets, and the composer related how he had been given credit for inventing this kind of symphonic minuet; he warned the Swedish colleague not to take them too quickly; the Swede hummed a minuet, and Haydn said, "That's much too quick", and explained that the bass line would not be clear at that tempo. Of course we know that Haydn's minuets speeded up, reaching *allegro* in many of the Salomon Symphonies and *presto*, one-in-the-bar, in some of the late quartets. But in No. 43, we have a superb example of this sturdy, not-too-fast and not-too-slow minuet which was one of the hallmarks of Haydn's style. The Trio is particularly graceful, starting out in C minor but then going to B flat; the ambiguous feeling remains in the second part, too, which again begins in C minor but ends in E flat, the home key. The wind instruments are used with the same delicacy as in the slow movement, adding a touch of nasal colour (in the oboes) and an organ-like pedal point in the horns. Sparingly though they are used, every student of composition can learn from this Trio how to achieve a perfect balance, in *piano* context, between strings and wind instruments.

Haydn is not letting us forget that this is a chamber symphony, whose strength is in its grace: in the Finale, there is another long, *legato* subject, just as in the first movement. Haydn is now building symphonies around a central idea, and we shall observe several such ideas, each entirely different from the other, in the rest of the symphonies analyzed in this album. And just as the long singing theme of the first movement was balanced by a sturdy tutti, the same contrast obtains in the Finale. There is a long coda to this movement, and once again (the last time, to be sure), Haydn dwells long and lovingly on one of his lyrical passages. Time seems to stop, the note values get slower and slower, and finally everything dies away except for the first violin, which goes up to an enigmatic g flat. There follows one of Haydn's magnificent silences, and then the music plunges into a last tutti and the elegant chamber symphony is at an end.

Symphony No. 44 in E minor ("*Trauer*"/"*Mourning*"). Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which a bassoon has been added as part of the *continuo*. The name is said to come from Haydn, who expressed a desire to have the slow movement played at his funeral; perhaps the story is apocryphal, but the title, for once, is apt. It is one of the greatest of Haydn's *Sturm und Drang* works, a new kind of symphony which is neither a chamber work nor a grand one with trumpets and timpani. Here Haydn finally achieved the form he had sought so long, for the emotional world of the church sonata (see Symphonies 22 and 49 especially) was successfully transferred to the "normal" symphonic structure. Not quite normal, though, because Haydn shifts the weight, after the enormously powerful opening movement, to the slow movement but allows a breathing space by inserting the minuet in between. In overall balance, this Symphony is a miracle of judgement.

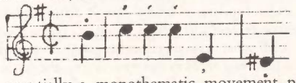
The first movement has the (for Haydn) unusual marking *Allegro con brio;* one is reminded of the great C minor Symphony No. 52, marked *Allegro assai con brio*. Both have another feature in common: the unison opening, which creates a sense of power and urgency. We will also encounter this unison beginning in Nos. 46, 51 and 56. In No. 44, Haydn divides up the first subject into two statements, which might be described: *a-b; a-c*. This double announcement of the principal theme is something we have heard in No. 39 and will hear again in No. 48. It gives us a chance to become familiar with the first four notes, which play a vital rôle throughout the movement. We hear them as the bass line of the transition to the dominant and suddenly they emerge in the violins simply as intervals of the fifth. They form the basis of what passes for the second subject and play a decisive part in the development section. It is interesting to see how Haydn increases the tension of this middle part. He uses a motif from the bridge-passage, with the characteristic rhythm

and this now "takes over" the development, growing more and more urgent, until Haydn compresses it to

backing it with a series of syncopations. The syncopations shift to semiquavers, and just when we think the music cannot stand any more tension, Haydn pushes the music into *fortissimo* (bar 98) and precipitates us – that is the only word – into the recapitulation, which here assumes an entirely new function: that of being an emotional necessity, a release from the tension of the development section. Instead of the double announcement of the main subject, Haydn compresses them into one and adds a passage of great effectiveness just after the *subito pp* (bar 114): the lower strings break from the semibreve into quavers, and though *pp*, what relentless quavers they are! And what a marvellously gaunt sound the oboes have when they enter in this *pp* context: the whole passage has something vaguely Gluckian about it, a classical beauty which is doubly effective flanked, as it is, by the most turbulent music Haydn had ever written hitherto. There is also a coda, introduced by a *fermata:* Haydn has reserved his greatest effect with the main theme till now, to use it canonically with itself.

In a way that canonic passage is a hint of things to come: for the *Menuetto* is a fantastic piece of contrapuntal prestidigitation: a strict "Canone in Diapason" (Haydn's marking) between the top and bottom line at the interval of one bar. Nothing could more effectively follow the tension of the first movement. The Minuet releases the

tension but is so interesting that the mood is not broken; it is a *tour-de-force* not only contrapuntally but also in overall timing. Often in Haydn's earlier symphonies in minor keys, such as Nos. 26 or 39, the Trio was an anticlimax. Not so in No. 44. Having lowered the tension, Haydn has another and equally effective device for the Trio: extreme lyricism. He has set the stage well: the strings are marked *pp*, and as students of Haydn know, every exaggerated dynamic mark (*pp* or *ff*) in his scores has some structural or emotional function: here it draws violent attention to the sudden shift into E major, which is heavenly release after the sombre E minor up to now, and it also draws attention to the beautiful *legato* lines of the strings. But great is our astonishment to find the first horn (which is in E; the second is in G) joining the first violins with the melody and soaring up to sounding e^2, the top of its *tessitura*. The second part of the Trio starts with off-beat *forzati* and suddenly breaks into *ff*. The violent dynamic contrasts of this Trio are typical of Haydn's new style. The older "terraced" dynamics of the baroque period will not do for the vastly increased emotions of Haydn's language. This is especially true of the lovely *Adagio*, like the Trio, in E major, and with the muted strings that we have now come to expect. And as in the other slow movements, the wind instruments are very sparingly used; but when they do enter at bar 16, it is with a *crescendo* that surges up to a *forte* only to repeat the effect immediately afterwards. Haydn was not enamoured of the Mannheim school's exaggerated dynamic marks. He is most fastidious about using *crescendi* and saves them for such moments as these. We have noted that Haydn likes to give us hints of things to come. The Trio in E major foretold that key for the slow movement. And now, in the recapitulation of the *Adagio*, what do we find but the horn once again soaring up to top e^2.

The Finale carries things further than even the first movement would lead us to expect. The unison opening is strongly, evenly violently rhythmic, with those inserted silences that increase the tension so effectively. Just as in the first movement, the first seven notes of the Finale prove to be essential, and so does another phrase from the first subject



This is essentially a monothematic movement pitched at an emotional level higher than anything since the Finale of Symphony No. 29 (but the emotional quality was different then). It is in abbreviated sonata form, and the development section rises to a wild pitch of excitement through a long, slowly-rising sequence built upon the leading motif of the first subject, this being constantly repeated until the tension is relieved by the music hurling itself into a series of semiquavers. The Symphony as a whole was undoubtedly Haydn's greatest achievement in the *genre* up to now, and is only equalled by the famous *Farewell* Symphony, an equally potent and moving *tour-de-force*. Together with the great C minor piano Sonata (No. 33 in the Universal Edition's new chronological list) and the Opus 20 Quartets, they revolutionized the history of music. The great period of the Viennese classical style has begun, and it is no exaggeration to say that music was never the same again.

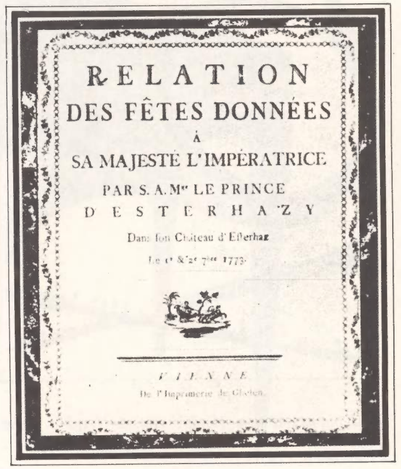
Symphony No. 45 in F sharp minor ("*Farewell*"). Scoring: 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 horns, strings (four violins in the last part of the Finale). Chronologically, this is probably the last Symphony in a minor key that Haydn was to write for many years (we should recall that Nos. 49 and 52, though numerically later, were composed in 1768 and *c.* 1771-3; so it is just possible that No. 52 was composed later). In fact it was to be a full decade before he turned to the minor in a symphony (No. 78, 1782), and by then Haydn's values, and his attitude towards the minor, had changed radically. Like No. 26 – a Symphony for Eastertime – No. 45 had a purpose, which explains its extraordinary form, if not entirely its extraordinary content. Briefly, the story as found in the authentic biographies is as follows. The Prince, so attracted to Eszterháza, that splendid castle erected on a wild and remote Hungarian marsh, tarried there longer and longer each year. The musicians, not being allowed (with the exception of Haydn) to have their families with them, were restless after a long season and naturally wished to rejoin their wives and children. Towards the end of the 1772 season, the musicians became desperate and went to their beloved *Capellmeister* for help. The result was the *Farewell* Symphony, in which the regular *Presto* Finale was broken off and a long *Adagio* began. During the course of this movement, one player after another blew out his candle and departed, leaving at the end two violins, Tomasini and Haydn himself. As they were about to leave, the Prince, having grasped the idea, is supposed to have said: "Well, if they all leave, we might as well leave, too." And the whole court departed the next day.

Apart from the obvious programmatic connotations, No. 45 is a fascinating and highly original piece of music: everything about it is original; the key (a great rarity), and the fact that the blacksmith at Eszterháza had to construct new crooks for the horns in F sharp (in the Minuet), since none existed on the usual hand-horn of the period; and the formal scheme not only of the Finale but of the whole work. With this Symphony he established a tonal precedent to which he would later revert when composing symphonies in the minor: the dispersal of the tonic minor by the relative major and the tonic major:

First movement:	F sharp minor
Second movement:	A major
Third movement:	F sharp major
Finale:	F sharp minor (*Presto*)
	A major (*Adagio*, part one)
	F sharp major (*Adagio*, part two, from bar 68)

Here we see Haydn consciously trying to avoid the tonal concentration of such works as No. 49 (all except the Trio in F minor) and 44 (which has only E minor and E major).

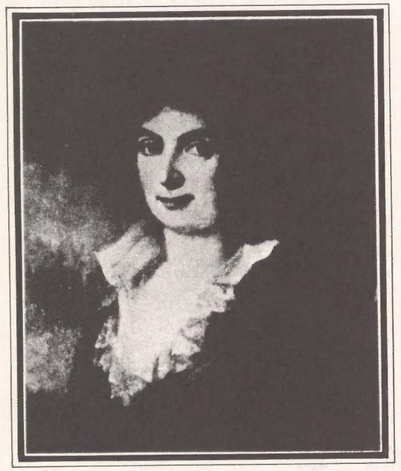
Above: *The Empress Maria Theresa in* 1770. *Engraving by Jacob Schmutzer after de Greux.*
Below: *Commemorative description of the visit of Maria Theresa to Eszterháza* (1773).


RELATION
DES FÊTES DONNÉES
À
SA MAJESTÉ L'IMPÉRATRICE
PAR S. A. Mgr LE PRINCE
D E S T E R H A Z Y
Dans son Château d'Estherhaz
VIENNE

Formally, the first movement is startlingly original, possibly the most "far-out" sonata form movement of Haydn's whole career. The horns are crooked in A and E, and by manipulating these two instruments, Haydn can achieve F sharp minor chords (*e.g.* f sharp-a or g sharp-b) in pure intonation. The first subject strides down the F sharp minor triad and is provided with a strangely unsettling accompaniment in syncopated notes (second violin) every time it appears, in whatever key and at whatever dynamic level. Occasionally the syncopations are taken out of context, as shortly before each double bar (56ff. and 195ff.) when they are given to the first violins: this ominous passage, where the second oboe and lower strings move in *legato* crotchets, is almost a call to the barricades. What can Prince Esterházy have thought of this dangerously violent music? And why did Haydn never touch the minor key in a symphony for the next ten years?

Prince Esterházy was a trained and performing musician: he will have heard the very odd sound of this movement; and he will have noted that there is no second subject (not unusual in Haydn); but in the middle of the development section, there is a *fermata* after a half close in F sharp major, following a repetition of that syncopated passage with the *legato* crotchets underneath; then the second subject appears *in D major*. It never occurs again, and Haydn lingers over it, relishing its beautiful melodic arch. Afterwards, what seems to be the recapitulation sets in; but it is in its way a new kind of false reprise, in that it starts out like a *fausse reprise* and then turns out to be the real, though false, recapitulation: false because Haydn simply goes on developing the music. This is complete freedom of form, and freedom of musical language, too, on an unprecedented scale. Nothing like it occurs in the Viennese classical school before Beethoven. But though all the rules of this potent *Allegro assai* are broken, the movement has a unity and power undreamt of in Haydn even a few years before.

Maria Wilhelmine, Countess von Thun (1744-1800), *one of the leading personalities of the musical salons in Vienna.*



The languid, hauntingly beautiful *Adagio* is in the relative major, with muted violins. As usual, the wind instruments are employed with monkish fastidiousness: in the first section, up to the double bar, the oboes play only in eleven of the seventy-six bars, the horns not at all. As the Symphony progresses, we shall take note of Haydn's endeavour to make the keys more ambivalent, particularly with regard to major and minor. When the music reaches the dominant, E major, the theme (a derivation of the main subject, with its grace notes) immediately repeats itself, and continues in, E minor; and the same procedure obtains in the recapitulation, of course in A major and minor. Whereas in the middle of the development this same section turns up in C sharp minor and *remains* in C sharp minor (bars 110ff.). The lead-back to the recapitulation is with the first violins all by themselves, a forlorn little cadence; and it is not until the recapitulation itself, at bar 127, that the horns enter for the first time in this *Adagio*, marked *pp* (a difficult entry, "cold", as they say in horn language, meaning with no preparation whatever). Towards the end of the recapitulation, Haydn develops a passage previously heard in the exposition at bars 58ff. In both places, listeners without a score can hear where the passage comes, because it follows a *fermata*, or pause, on a diminished chord. In the second of its statements, Haydn extends the music, modulating in slow motion to what would be, strictly speaking, B sharp minor, the complicated notation of which Haydn avoids by spelling the chord partly in its enharmonic equivalent, C minor: the violins have, correctly, d sharp and b sharp respectively, but the violas and bass line have g natural (=the notation in C minor) rather than the correct f double sharp. It is an extraordinary modulation, so unusual that in the autograph Haydn puts a line over the second violin when it plays first b sharp and then immediately afterwards c natural (the same note). This is not the only time that Haydn writes little notes to himself (or the copyist?) in the autograph: in the first movement, there is another very unexpected and rather *outré* modulation, in the middle of which (bar 150) Haydn writes "Sapienti pauca", a cryptic remark that he many years later repeated after what appears to have been a meagre dinner with the Storace family in London. In No. 45, "Sapienti pauca" can also be a warning to the copyist to watch the number of bars (since the pattern of syncopated notes repeats itself here for sixteen bars).

The *Menuet* is in F sharp major, but by bar three the basses have a d natural which makes the ensuing half close on C sharp sound as if we were going into F sharp minor. The same unsettling syncopations that we noted in the first movement also appear in the Minuet, which ends, in each section, with a curious little phrase, just for the violins, marked *pp*. The Trio is based upon a variant of an old Gregorian melody sung in Holy Week, *Incipit lamentatio*: the *Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah*. Haydn had used this agelessly beautiful tune in a wind band *Divertimento* of 1760 for Count Morzin's *Tafelmusik* (what will the Count have thought of *that* idea?), and also as the basis for the *Lamentatione* Symphony No. 26's slow movement. What did Prince Esterházy imagine he was hearing, in this Symphony, by the time this Trio emerged with the Maundy Thursday dirge, spruced up and given to the horns?

The Finale, a *Presto* in barred C, begins in the lean texture and with the rather nervous manner of a typical Haydnesque *Sturm und Drang* conclusion. It must have sounded forbidding to many people; the *Mercure de France*, reviewing it on 24 April 1784, found it "un morceau bruyant & sans caractère". There are some curious details. Just before the end of the first double bar, the first violins have a passage in which they switch back and forth between open a-string and fingered e-string, and once again this is very odd-sounding, almost the rattling of the skeletons in a *Totentanz:* many years later Haydn was to create another very strange sound, when the violins play half the slow movement of Symphony No. 97 near the bridge (*sul ponticello*). When we reach the point where the movement ought to conclude, Haydn starts to modulate, following yet another of those queer syncopated sections (bars 127ff.). The music suddenly ends on a half-close, on unison C sharp. There is a pause, and to our astonishment an *Adagio* begins. The bassoon, which was not mentioned in the autograph before, is given its own line, and there are four violins. We, of course, know what is going to happen, and so we may study Haydn's preparation with care. The slow movement has the same richly *cantabile* lines that we have come to expect of Haydn *de anno* 1772, and for a while everything proceeds normally. When the dominant (E major) appears, we note that the oboes and the *second* horn have an elaborate solo section, at the end of which oboe I and horn II blow out their candles, take their instruments and leave. (We must remember that in those days, the orchestras played standing.) There then occurs a kind of middle section and a return to the tonic and the main subject. The bassoon emerges from his servile position as part of the *basso continuo*, has a little solo, and leaves. The wind band solo that announced the departure of oboe I and horn II is now repeated, in the tonic, for oboe II and horn I (in A; horn II was in E; even such details are meticulously worked out to serve the structure), after which they leave. We begin to see, by this time, that each departing instrument displays his wares, so to speak, before departing. Up to this point, we have had a regular tripartite slow movement, at least formally. But

now a gradual shift begins. It is announced by a long and very elaborate solo for the stepchild of the orchestra, the *Violone* (as it was then called) or *Contrabasso* (as we call it now). Haydn always had a weak spot for this unwieldy "great viola" (the literal translation of "violone"), and even composed a concerto for it, alas lost, and many delightful solo sections in earlier symphonies. We are so engrossed by this huge solo in triplets – technically difficult to keep in tune, even today with our refined "Koussevitsky" method – that we scarcely realize that the whole tonal basis of the movement has pivoted from the relative major (A) to the tonic major (F sharp), the arrival of which is marked by the contrabasso's departure. Now there are just the four violins, violas and cellos left, and they start playing the music of the *Adagio* all over again, in F sharp. A great stillness seems to settle on this lonely and beautiful music: the cello leaves, then the tutti violins, then the viola. Almost imperceptibly, the orchestra has dwindled away to *Capellmeister* Haydn and *Conzertmeister* Tomasini, and finally they, too, have the last, sad little solo, end *pianissimo* and *staccato*, blow out their candles and leave.

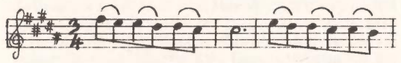
Felix Mendelssohn conducted this Symphony at one of his "historical" Gewandhaus concerts in Leipzig, on 22 February 1838. People had almost forgotten this great *Symphonie in Fis-moll*, with which the concert ended; and Mendelssohn had the musicians blow out their candles and leave, just as at that first occasion on the icy marshes of Eszterháza. The public at the Gewandhaus, wrote Mendelssohn to his sister shortly afterwards, was "jubilant". Then he added, obviously profoundly moved by the work, "it is a curiously melancholic little piece" ("Est ist ein curios melancholisches Stückchen").

Symphony No. 46 in B. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which a bassoon has been added as part of the *continuo*.

In the eighteenth century, symphonies in F sharp minor were as good as non-existent apart from Haydn's No. 45; B major symphonies were rare, too, because of intonation problems, but they did exist. Haydn may have heard G. M. Monn's B major Symphony, which was played in Vienna when Haydn was a choir-boy at the Cathedral. Our No. 46 is the composer's only Symphony in this remote key, though he wrote a piano Sonata in B which is lost.

By this time, we know at once that the four-note unison opening is destined for contrapuntal development. Haydn is very clever in showing us the theme's possibilities. He takes the first three notes and combines them with a kind of Fuxian countersubject: this takes place just before the bridge-passage. Then, at the beginning of the development, the four notes are combined with themselves canonically, as was done with the similar subject in No. 44. There is the by now standard *fausse reprise*, here on a large scale. At the real recapitulation, Haydn finally presents us with the theme in full contrapuntal dress: used with itself canonically and with the Fuxian countersubject noted earlier. It is a very terse movement and rather dark-hued.

The *Poco Adagio* is a kind of sophisticated *siciliano*, which Haydn had used so beautifully in an aria from *Le pescatrici* two years earlier. Here, the music is in the tonic minor, and graced with string passages marked *staccato assai*. It has a definite air of Italy, and this is something which we shall often encounter in Haydn's music: astonishing that Haydn could so closely capture the air of a country he had never seen (though he had a pretty Italian mistress in the 1780s). But though the gently sad atmosphere is south-of-the-Alps, the refined orchestration is Eszterháza. Haydn puts the horns in D, and when he gets to the relative major, he can support the melody with the horns and bass line (just before the first double bar), a delightful orchestral innovation.

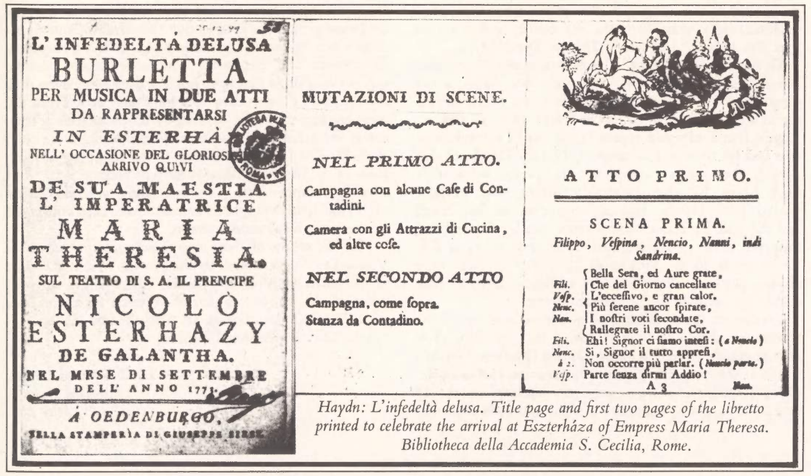
The *Menuet*, a slowish and graceful movement, is marked by "sighing" sequences, an old baroque device of proceeding upwards or (usually) downwards as a pattern like this:

In elegant symmetry the music starts by a series of progressions up the "sighing" pattern and finishes down the "sighing" pattern (an extract of the latter is just quoted above). The Trio is quite unprecedented, being *durchkomponiert* (though with the double bars) and of a strangely Balkan flavour. It starts as if it were going from B minor to D major, changes its mind, and then changes it back – to D major. The second part ends in B minor, but with very odd and rather ominous harmonic and dynamic contrasts.

The *Finale* is marked "Presto e scherzando". It opens in two-part texture, with just the violins. It is a witty, "joking" (as the title implies) movement, with a flair for the grotesque. The use of silence is remarkable here, adding a whole series of surprising twists to the music. But nothing prepares us for the really bizarre, but also very touching, effect that Haydn has in store for us in the second half. The music comes to a stop on a half-close in the dominant, followed by a *fermata*, and then the *Menuet* begins again, and Haydn lets the whole dance movement (without repeats) unfold before he cuts it off to return to the *Finale's* main subject. This, too, peters out in the first violins, and the music stops dead with two whole bars of rests. Then, with a very comical effect, the horns sound a low pedal point and the theme comes in once again as a farewell. It is a brilliantly original movement, almost a scene out of the *commedia dell'arte*, with Columbine and Harlequin enacting some kind of pantomime in front of us, basically very funny but with queer overtones.

Symphony No. 47 in G. Scoring: 2 oboes, bassoon (only mentioned in the slow movement), 2 horns, strings.

We have noted that there is a serious, even scholarly side to Haydn, which manifests itself particularly in the Opus 20 *Sun* Quartets of 1772, with their brilliant fugal finales. Even the little third movement of Symphony No. 47 is a palindromic "Menuet al rovescio" and "Trio al rovescio". We have also seen that these symphonies under discussion are frequently very serious and weighty, and at least two, Nos. 44 and 45, are major stylistic milestones in Haydn's career. It seems that part of the reason for this change in style, this increased learnedness, and the deliberate cultivation of older contrapuntal forms, arose out of a German Press campaign against Haydn which has been all but forgotten nowadays. Then, it raged for several years. We first learned of this campaign from a passage in the memoirs of William Parke, an oboist in the King's Band who knew Haydn when the composer was in England in the 1790s. Parke has this to say about Haydn: "His transcendant genius soon enabled him to soar high above all his competitors; and, as envy seldom fails to pursue merit, the German masters became so jealous of his rising fame, that they entered into a kind of combination in order to decry his compositions. Some went so far as even to write pamphlets against his works, complaining of them as wild, flighty . . . and as tending to introduce new musical doctrines . . .". What were all these pamphlets and attacks? It has turned out that some of these articles are so rare that they have survived only in one single copy, for instance the devastating little booklet (published much later but in the same anti-Haydn tone) entitled "Portfeuille für Musikliebhaber" which seems to have survived in only one copy, in the library of Göttweig Abbey.

Haydn's instrumental compositions circulated to Germany in the 1760s, partly by way of handwritten copies and partly through the French prints. The North Germans soon began to take violent exception to Haydn's style. They were particularly annoyed by the minuets and slow movements in which the violins played the melody in octaves. "If these minuets in octaves are for everyone", writes a critic, "remains to be seen. They are good fun, but you might easily get the idea that you were hearing a father and son begging and yammering in octaves, and that's a bad object for musical imitation." Haydn got into a book entitled "Introduction to a musical library". The Hamburg journal *Unterhaltungen* of 1769, reviewing the book, wrote: "Haydn's name should have been omitted; in his symphonies alone he can be tolerated for some excellent ideas, but not for his taste or thoroughness. Piano works or – God forbid – trios and quartets by him – that's what really bad music means." The next year, 1770, we find a Leipzig critic writing about Haydn's Symphony No. 28: "This Symphony has been put into bearable form not long ago by one of our composers and the excrescences removed; the last movement in six-eight time has been left out of the print altogether; it would have been better to have omitted the silly trio, together with the minuet." This was a very Balkan-sounding trio. The same critic was furious at Haydn's dividing the melody of the second movement in Symphony No. 29 between first and second violins, and he goes on about one of Haydn's fugues: "if anyone thinks that thing is a fugue, he's at liberty to do so." On the whole, the Germans objected to all the typically


L'INFEDELTÀ DELUSA
BURLETTA
PER MUSICA IN DUE ATTI
DA RAPPRESENTARSI
IN ESTERHÁ
NELL' OCCASIONE DEL GLORIOSO ARRIVO QUIVI
DE SUA MAESTÀ
L' IMPERATRICE
MARIA
THERESIA.
SUL TEATRO DI S. A. IL PRENCIPE
NICOLÒ
ESTERHAZY
DE GALANTHA.
NEL MESE DI SETTEMBRE
DELL' ANNO 1773.
A OEDENBURGO,
NELLA STAMPERÌA DI GIUSEPPE SIEGL.

MUTAZIONI DI SCENE.

NEL PRIMO ATTO.

Campagna con alcune Case di Contadini.

Camera con gli Attrazzi di Cucina, ed altre cose.

NEL SECONDO ATTO

Campagna, come sopra.

Stanza da Contadino.

ATTO PRIMO.

SCENA PRIMA.

Filippo, Vespina, Nencio, Nanni, indi Sandrina.

Fil. Bella Sera, ed Aure grate,
Vesp. Che del Giorno cancellate
Nenc. L'eccessivo, e gran calor.
Nan. Più ferene ancor spirate,
I nostri voti fecondate,
Rallegrate il nostro Cor.
Fil. Ehi! Signor ci siamo intesi: (a Nencio)
Nenc. Sì, Signor il tutto apprendi,
& c. Non occorre più parlar. (Nencio parte.)
Vesp. Parte senza dirmi Addio!

A 3

Haydn: L'infedeltà delusa. Title page and first two pages of the libretto printed to celebrate the arrival at Eszterháza of Empress Maria Theresa. Bibliotheca della Accademia S. Cecilia, Rome.

Austrian side to Haydn: his sense of humour, his exotic excursions into Balkan and Gypsy folk-songs, his sudden change from serious to comical.

Haydn was not a man to get into a literary argument in German periodicals, but he did answer his critics a year later, in his own way: with the Opus 20 Quartets and with all these magnificently serious (though also at times flippant) symphonies at present under examination —in short, with a whole series of works which were so impressive *in toto*, and also so learned, that (if we may misquote Miss Nancy Mitford for a moment), after this a great silence descended on the periodicals of Germany, as least as far as Haydn's being a frivolous composer.

One of the admirers of No. 47 was Mozart. He jotted down its theme, together with those of two other Haydn symphonies, which he planned to give in his Mehlgrube concerts, on a little slip of paper which is now owned by the Historical Society of Philadelphia. What Mozart probably found irresistible is the beginning of the Symphony, with its marching horns. The march rhythm is added to, instrument by instrument, so that the theme grows layer by layer. When we arrive at the second subject we find the greatest possible contrast, a stalking bass in crotchets, chattering triplets in the violins and then a lean oboe line on the top. All this is not like the usual Haydn symphony of this period, where the seond subject, as we have seen, is often non-existent. The development secton grows out of the march theme and becomes gradually more serious, even ominous. The climax of this move from light to dark is the recapitulation itself, where the entire theme is put into the tonic minor. The build-up of the march now sounds menacing and sinister; but the block of oboes and horns that masses itself over the strings lingers on a moment, and suddenly in an instant the second subject comes in, and the sun is out from behind the clouds.

The second movement was an old favourite of Dr. Burney, who called the theme an "old organ point", and Haydn stresses the point by requiring a bassoon to double the bass line throughout. Connoisseurs—and north German critics—will have noticed, and relished, that in this delicate variation movement, *Un poco adagio, cantabile*, the theme is constructed in double counterpoint at the octave so that the bottom and top lines can be reversed.

The Minuet and Trio are also constructed with great skill. The players read their music twice for ten bars, up to the double bar, and then they read it twice backwards, arriving at the beginning. The same applies to the Trio. Haydn has taken great pains so that the orchestration helps one to hear the music when it is played in reverse.

The theme of the racy Finale starts out on a chord without the tonic root, and this scheme gives a strongly anacrustic push to the *piano* section which is not resolved until the *forte*. Another quality of this Finale which appears when we arrive at the dominant is its Balkan snap. Haydn was always very attracted to Gypsy music, and these dashing grace notes and the syncopated inner parts are Romany legacies. In one of Opus 20 Quartets, we find a "Menuet alla Zingarese", and later there is the famous "Gypsy Rondo" from the late piano Trio in G. Of course, these Gypsy touches are exotic excursions, but they add a sharpness to Haydn's language which is very much a part of the great heritage of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Symphony No. 48 in C ("*Maria Theresia*"). Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C *alto* and F, (timpani?) and strings, to which a bassoon has been added as part of the *continuo*.

It was supposed that this brilliant, nervous Symphony had been composed and performed by Haydn to honour the visit of the Empress Maria Theresa to Eszterháza Castle at the beginning of September 1773. The visit was a great success, particularly for Haydn. The Empress was so delighted with the marionette opera *Philemon und Baucis* that five years later she invited the whole marionette troup to Schönbrunn Castle. And Haydn's new opera, *L'infedeltà delusa*, was also a great success with Her Majesty, who afterwards went round Vienna saying, "If I want to hear good opera, I must go to Eszterháza". We know, because the visit was reported in great detail in contemporary newspapers, that Haydn and his orchestra were assembled one of those days at a beautiful Chinese pavilion on the Castle grounds, and that the Empress was taken there to hear a new symphony by Prince Esterházy's *Capellmeister*. Afterwards Prince Nicolaus introduced Haydn to the Empress and they reminisced about the time when Haydn, as a choir-boy, had been caught with some of his playmates on the scaffolding of Schönbrunn Castle and the Empress had had him thrashed. "That thrashing", said the Empress, "bore good fruit", a mixed metaphor that will have been a highpoint in Haydn's life.

It has always been presumed that Symphony No. 48 was the one the Empress heard in that Chinese Pavilion. Our knowledge of the Symphony, textually, has been based primarily on the parts in the Esterházy Archives. It now develops that these parts are absolutely not authentic. Considering that the Esterházy Archives are the sanctuary for much of Haydn's music before 1790, that statement requires a little explanation. Six years after the Empress and her entourage left Eszterháza, there was a dreadful fire at the Castle. It started when a stove in the ball room became overheated and exploded. In the ensuing conflagration, the Theatre burned up completely, and with it all the priceless instruments and the entire stock of Haydn's scores and parts, except for some autographs of his operas which happened to be in his own quarters and were thus saved for posterity. But all the orchestral materials of his symphonies composed up to 1779, and that means some seventy works, were destroyed. Later Haydn did a very sensible thing. He went to Vienna and visited some professional copyists who had been pirating his music for twenty years with great financial gain to themselves and none to Haydn. The composer bought a big collection of his earlier symphonies so that he could have the music at Eszterháza, and what he bought was parts, much more useful to him than the scores. Among his acquisitions was the copy of Symphony No. 48, with the trumpets doubling the horns in the fast movements and a kettledrum part which appears in no other known source. One ought to add that there exist at least ten versions of trumpet and timpani parts to this Symphony, and it would seem that all are spurious.

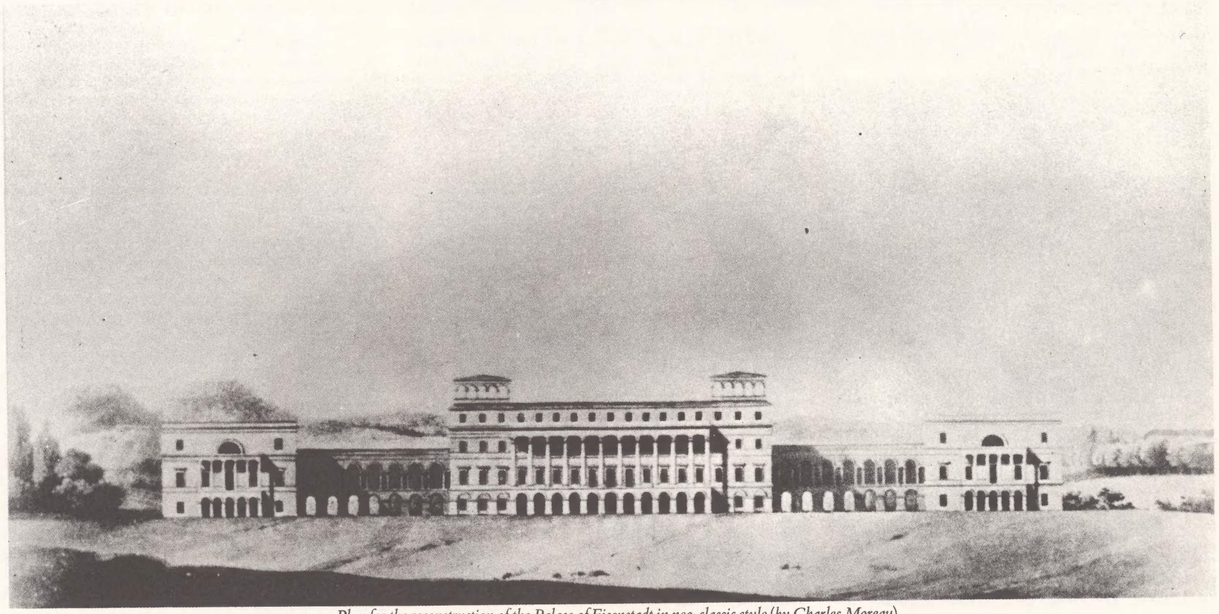
If this evidence is all negative, the authentic Joseph Elssler parts, mentioned above, are very positive. The two sensational facts of this authentic manuscript are (1) its date of 1769 and (2) the scoring, for oboes, horns in C *alto* and F, and strings. This means, as far as point one is concerned, that the Symphony cannot have been composed in honour of the Empress's visit in 1773. There is no reason why Haydn could not have taken the work off the shelf and performed it for the Empress. But she had her own orchestra in Vienna, and it is more than likely that between the years 1769 and 1773 she will have heard the Symphony. It is also against the spirit of the times for Haydn to have dusted off an old Symphony to honour his Queen and Empress. But if he composed a new work for her, which is it? We seem to have the answer. A little section of the prologue to *Philemon und Baucis* has survived in Haydn's autograph, and there is written evidence that they really did give the prologue and the opera itself in Maria Theresa's honour at the Eszterháza puppet theatre. This little fragment was written on some spare sheets which belonged to the autograph of Symphony No. 50. And No. 50, a big work with high horns, trumpets and timpani, is clearly dated 1773 on the autograph. It must have been composed simultaneously with *Philemon und Baucis*, and it seems that No. 50 is the real *Maria Theresia* Symphony.

To return to the "new" Czech manuscript of the false *Maria Theresia* Symphony, we note that there is no timpani part. Now in itself this does not mean much, for as we have seen in connection with Nos. 38 and 41, Haydn frequently sold copies of his works to orchestras that had no trumpets or timpani. But for Haydn of this period, C major in a symphonic or operatic work with high horns (C *alto*) inevitably meant that timpani played too. Haydn had no trumpets in his band, and he had to recruit them from nearby Oedenburg (Sopron) if he needed trumpets at Eszterháza, as he did, for example, in the autumn of 1773. But timpani were always available. Probably the authentic timpani part to No. 48 perished in the Eszterháza fire.

Leaving all these philological questions, it is interesting to observe that with its new dating of 1769, No. 48 is almost exactly parallel with the Opus 9 Quartets. Haydn's music at this period is brilliant but uneven. Just as in the Opus 9 Quartets, there is only one masterpiece, the D minor, so in the Symphonies of 1768 and 1769 there are only two masterpieces, this one and the great *Sinfonia La Passione* No. 49. People got the name of our Symphony wrong but the message right. It is a Symphony for Queens and Emperors, with a brilliance, panache and nervous drive that have not lost their force even after the interval of more than two hundred years. From the tense excitement of the opening (with those reeling horn parts, which have to be heard to be believed), to the quiet intensity of its slow movement, to the stamping, driving force of its *Menuet* (with magnificent fanfares, and what a strange, sombre Trio!), to the rushing *perpetuum mobile* of its Finale, this Symphony seems to have been composed in one great inspirational sweep.

The full scores of these symphonies are published by Verlag Doblinger, edited by the present writer. Reprints in the form of miniature scores, either singly or with notes on the sources, as part of volumes three and four of all Haydn's symphonies, are published by the Philharmonia Edition (Universal Edition).

H. C. Robbins Landon,
Buggiano Castello,
May 1972.



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